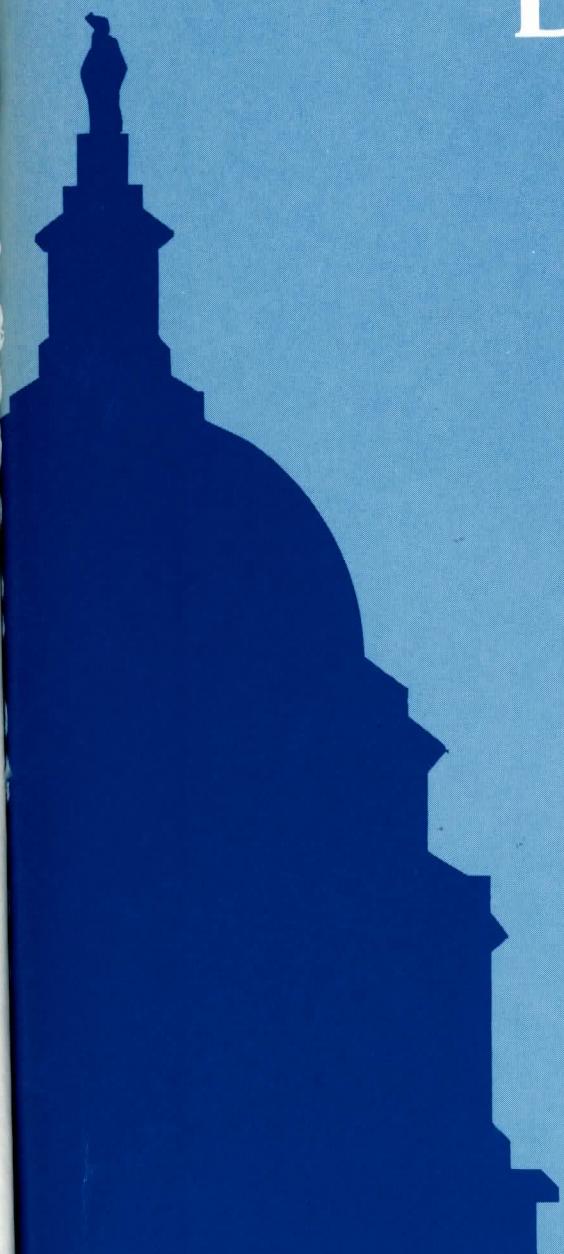


The Documentation of Congress



Society of American Archivists Task 11



The Documentation of Congress

Report of the
Congressional Archivists Roundtable
Task Force on Congressional Documentation

Karen Dawley Paul
Project Director
1992

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Foreword

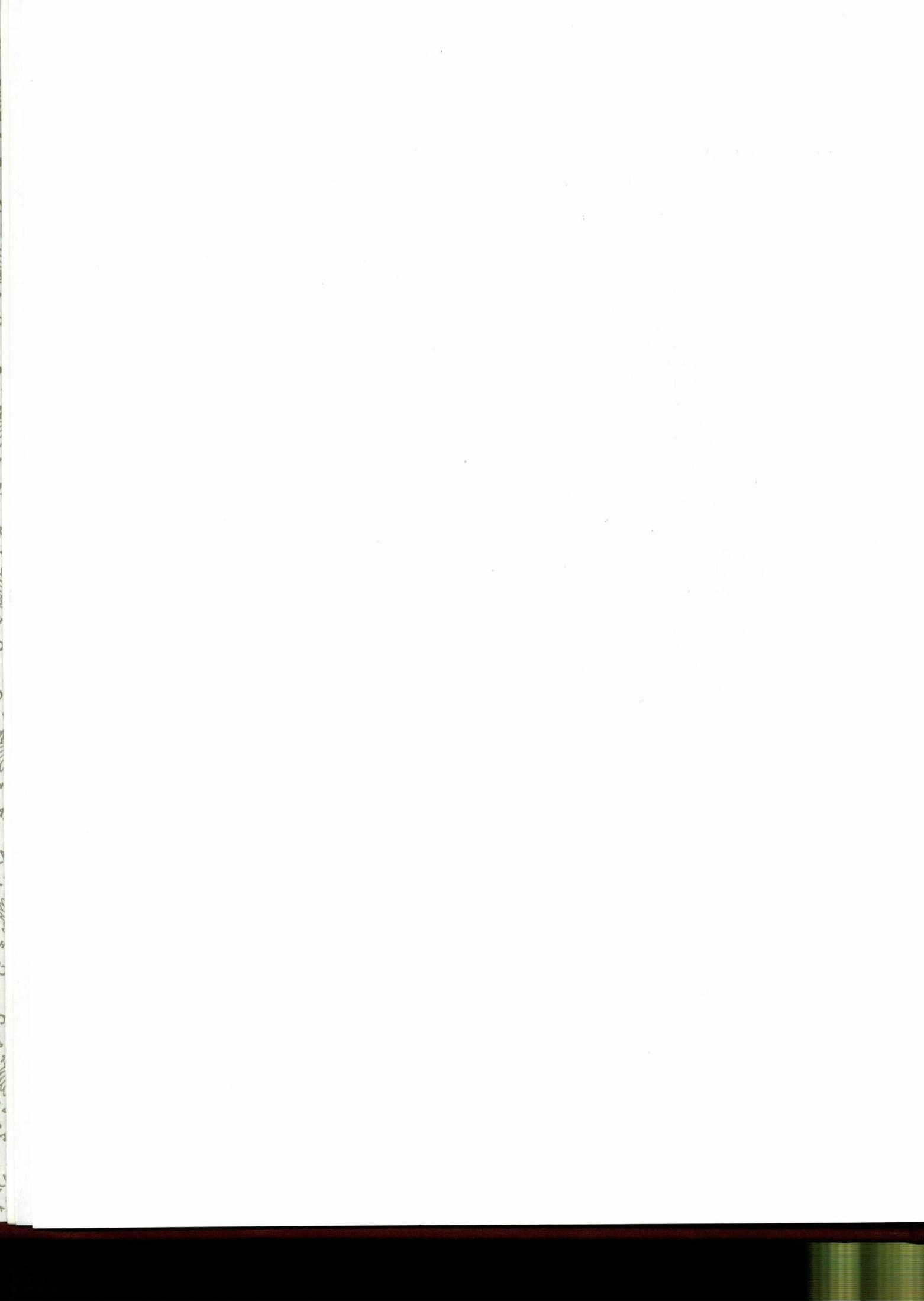
The Documentation of Congress was compiled by the Task Force on the Documentation of Congress of the Society of American Archivists Congressional Archivists Roundtable. The impetus for this report derived from the 1989 conference "Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference" sponsored by the U.S. Senate Commission on the Bicentennial, the Commission on the Bicentenary of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

The conference deliberations underscored the fact that while a great deal is written and reported by and about Congress, there have been relatively few scholarly historical studies focusing on the legislative branch. While the reasons for this are varied, one especially critical factor is the fragmented nature of congressional primary source documentation. In response, the Congressional Archivists Roundtable, working with the Senate Historical Office and with the advice of the Office of the Historian in the House of Representatives,

undertook a study of the archival sources that document the operations of Congress.

This report records the professional views and analyses of the individual contributors and task force members who are representative of the diverse groups sharing responsibility for preserving the documentary record of Congress. It is reproduced to assist them and others involved in the ongoing process of selecting, preserving and making available for research use congressional information of lasting value. Its purpose is to serve to stimulate discussion and to inspire future coordinated action in the preservation and research use of these valuable documentary resources.

Walter J. Stewart
Secretary of the Senate
and
*Chairman, Advisory Committee on
the Records of Congress*
July 1992



Preface

The records of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government form the basis of our national history. They tell the story of the development and intent of public policy and the obligations of government, and they document the rights of the people. Because the documentation of Congress, in particular, most directly reveals the will of the people as expressed through their elected representatives, it is especially crucial to preserve evidence and information about the legislative process and make it accessible to the public.

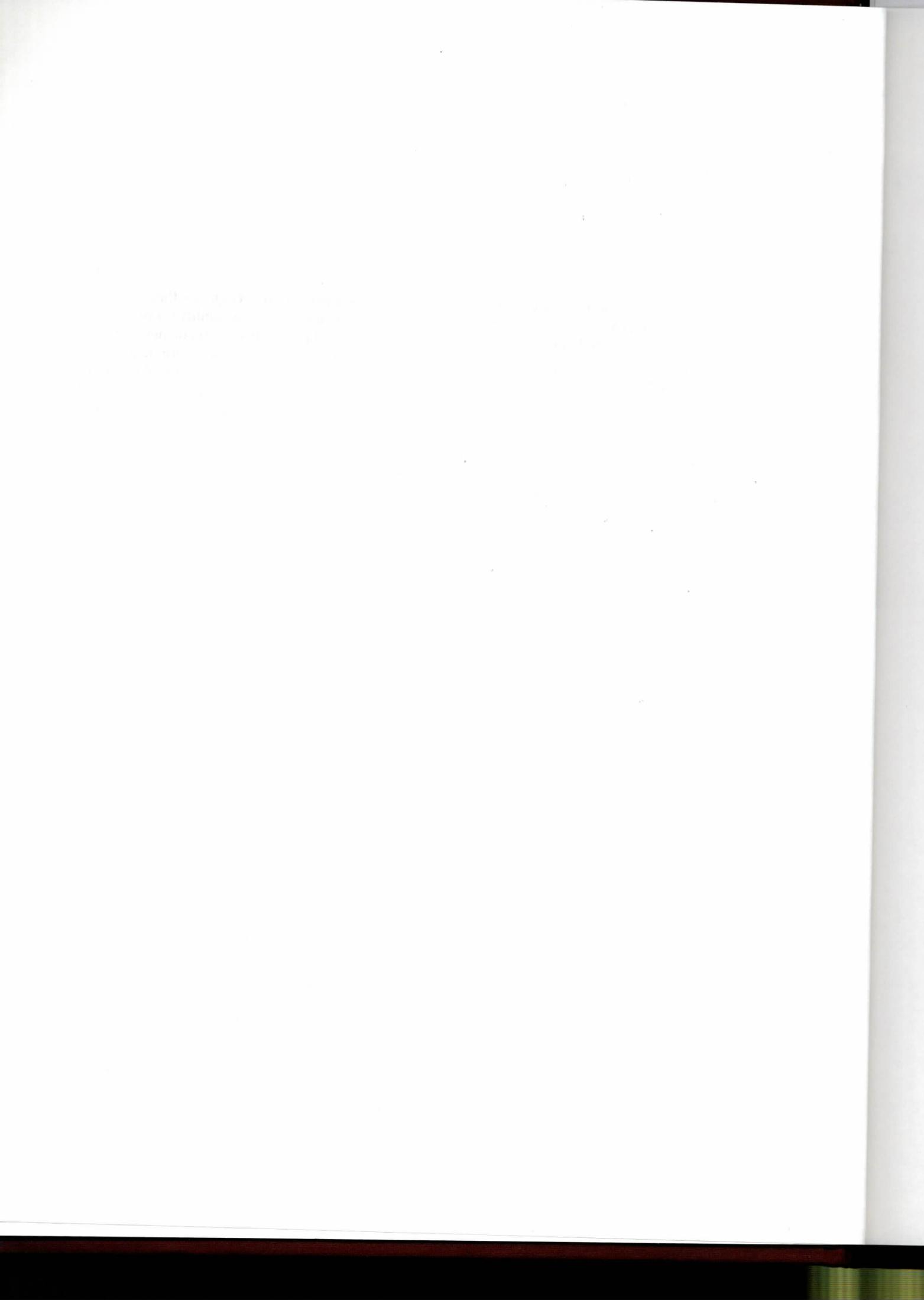
For a number of reasons, it can be extremely difficult and costly to obtain information about Congress, its decisions, and the way it reached those decisions from archival sources of information. The sources are administratively fragmented and geographically scattered; collections are often voluminous, of complex arrangement, inadequately indexed, and in poor physical condition; contents of many collections are uneven, with unexplained gaps in information; and repositories that receive these collections frequently lack the resources to provide state-of-the-art arrangement, description, and archival preservation. Without access to these sources, scholars cannot evaluate and interpret the work of Congress, and citizens cannot understand their history.

In order to improve the preservation of and access to information about Congress, the Task Force on Congressional Documentation of the Society of American Archivists' Congressional Archivists Roundtable conducted a two-year study and prepared the following report. The Task Force includes representatives of the House and Senate Historical Offices, staff of the Center for Legislative Archives of the National Archives, and archivists from members' archival repositories.

This detailed report recognizes that three primary authorities bear responsibility for preserving the records of the legislative branch: members and officials of Congress, the Center for Legislative Archives, and the hundreds of archival repositories across the country, including the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, that preserve and provide access to the personal papers of members. Building on the interests and responsibilities of these three groups, the report presents detailed recommendations for a coordinated effort designed to preserve and make accessible to researchers the historical records of Congress.

The report is a beginning, a working document designed to guide the plans and future activities of those who share responsibility for and interest in the history of Congress, the development of public policy, and the progress of democratic government. Many of its suggestions will take years to be carried out; others can be effected immediately.

Among the most pressing needs are actions to improve the documentation of legislation, representation, congressional leadership, political activities, and programs of congressional support agencies. Other recommendations are aimed at better documenting Congress' relations and interaction with the media, the executive and the judicial branches, lobbyists, and think tanks. Finally, steps are suggested to improve documentation of the administration of Congress; to fill gaps in the historical record through structured, coordinated oral history interview programs; and to improve the preservation of congressional sources. The order and speed with which each individual recommendation is implemented will depend upon the nature of the problem being addressed and its relative importance to those who are responsible for preserving the documentation of Congress.



Introduction

The Congressional Documentation Project, through this report, establishes a working definition of the "functions" of Congress, analyzes and evaluates the sources that document these functions, and makes recommendations that are designed to strengthen and improve the preservation of the documentary record of Congress. The project represents a continuation of efforts by historians, archivists, and congressional staff that began in 1978. In that year, the National Study Commission on the Records and Documents of Federal Officials, in a report to Congress, recommended that office files and personal papers of members of Congress be legally designated as federal records with guaranteed public access after fifteen years.

Congress did not adopt that specific recommendation, but the Senate decided to sponsor a two-day conference in September 1978 on the research use and disposition of senators' papers. Following an unprecedented exchange of information on the topic of members' papers, the conference recommended that a records-management handbook for members be produced. Subsequently, recognizing that vital documentation existed in two separate but closely related areas, the Senate Historical Office produced two handbooks, one for members and one for committees.

In 1985, the Dirksen Congressional Center and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission jointly sponsored a two-day conference aimed at exploring ways to ensure the preservation of the documentary record of Congress. A report detailed the recommendations of the participants, listing groups and organizations that could play a role and particular strategies that could be employed. Suggested strategies included the creation of standards for judging the research value of congressional collections and evaluating repositories' ability to care for such collections, as well as the dissemination in Congress of records management publications and guidelines. One significant

outcome of the conference was the designation of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable of the Society of American Archivists as the group that would carry on the work of congressional documentation beyond the life of the two-day conference.

The Congressional Archivists Roundtable was established in 1984 under the leadership of Karyl Winn of the University of Washington, Seattle. Since 1985, it has sought to improve the preservation of archival records that document Congress. With approximately one hundred members, a bi-annual newsletter, and active participation by the Senate and House historical offices, the Roundtable serves as a primary vehicle for coordinating efforts to improve preservation of the historical record of Congress.

On February 10, 1989, David McCullough delivered the keynote address at "Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference" sponsored by the U.S. Senate Commission on the Bicentennial, the Commission on the Bicentenary of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. His remarks struck a particularly responsive chord among the Congressional Roundtable archivists present in the House Caucus Room. McCullough's theme was direct and persuasively argued: despite the wealth and variety of information that is generated by and about Congress, there remains a relative paucity of scholarly historical studies focusing on the legislative branch. The ease with which he cited the numerous and important studies that have not been written caused the archivists to ask, "why not?"

During subsequent discussions, the archivists noted that a fragmented and incomplete documentary record is a major cause of this dearth of scholarship. The record is scattered among the official records of the House and Senate, the personal papers of members of Congress located in hundreds of repositories across the country, published sources

in Government Depository Libraries, computer data bases available for a fee, and collections of records not yet deposited nor scheduled to be deposited in research libraries. In addition, the archivists perceived a widespread lack of understanding about the nature and value of these fragmented materials and how they fit together.

Although the research materials that exist are large in quantity, they are uneven in quality, are difficult to work with, and are woefully incomplete in terms of presenting a comprehensive, useful, historical record. While everyone agreed on the "importance" of congressional material, they recognized that "importance" had not led to a determined effort to systematically appraise and preserve a documentary record of Congress.

Congress and the legislative branch are not alone among American institutions in lacking a coordinated national collections policy. Archivists in recent years have become particularly concerned with evaluating their own performance in meeting the needs of their "constituents"—in this instance, the Congress, its members, and those who rely on congressional documentation to perform their work.

While they define professional goals as identifying, preserving, and making available for use records of enduring value, archivists recognize the existence of formidable factors that make achieving these objectives particularly difficult. These obstacles include the information explosion, the computer and telecommunications revolutions, insufficient resources for archival work as government and repository budgets tighten, and the lack of clearly defined long-term strategies and action plans to accomplish overall documentary objectives.

To overcome these conditions, archivists have concentrated their efforts on developing explicit goals and priorities. The Society of American Archivists, for example, has established committees on Goals and Priorities, Archival Information Exchange, Automated Records and Techniques, and Institutional Evaluation and Development. The work generated by these committees has led several archivists to propose a coordinated methodology, referred to as a "documentation strategy," as a way to collectively achieve the most important objective—selecting and preserving records of enduring value.

The "strategy," reduced to its bare essentials, consists of defining the functions of the topic or

institution under consideration, surveying and assessing the research value of the documentation, and devising a detailed plan to achieve the agreed-upon goals. A number of individuals developed this concept initially, among them are Larry Hackman, Joan Warnow-Blewett, and Helen Samuels. Helen Samuels, in particular, has worked closely as an advisor to this project.

In response to these recent advances in the archival profession and, more immediately, to the desire to contribute in a meaningful way to the commemoration of Congress' Bicentennial, members of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable of the Society of American Archivists decided to undertake a Congressional Documentation Project. The project was coordinated by the Senate Historical Office with advice from the Office of the Historian, House of Representatives. Karen D. Paul, Senate archivist, served as project director.

The project's recommendations are aimed at increasing communication and coordination among interested parties and at promoting the use of a range of resources in the public and private sectors to influence and shape the acquisition, preservation, development, and use of the documentary record of Congress. Only when the appropriate sources are defined, administered, and preserved in a systematic and integrated way, will the meaningful histories and studies that David McCullough called for be written and the possibilities for "Understanding Congress" be improved.

The results of the project team's research are reproduced in this report. A summary report presents the highlights, summarizes the findings, and sets forth recommendations. Documentation team members include: Claudia Anderson, Lyndon B. Johnson Library; John Caldwell, The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center; James Cross, Clemson University; Herbert Hartsook, University of South Carolina; Gary Hoag, Congressional Information Service; Richard Hunt, Center for Legislative Archives; Cynthia Pease Miller, Office of the Historian, House of Representatives; Faye Phillips, Louisiana State University; Elizabeth Poel, the General Accounting Office; Charles Schamel, Center for Legislative Archives; and Sheryl Vogt, Richard Russell Library at the University of Georgia. Numerous other individuals participated in exploratory discussions and provided substantive background material. They included: Mary Boccacio, East

Carolina University; Connie Cartledge, Library of Congress; William Cleveland, Archivist for Senator Glenn; Kathleen Dondanville, Archivist for Senator Dole; Connell Gallagher, the University of Vermont; Susan Goldstein, Archivist for Senator Cranston; John Hackett, Office of the Architect of the Capitol; Amy Korzick, Archivist for Senator Nunn; Maarja Krusten, General Accounting Office; Naomi Nelson, Emory University; Jane Odom, a Capitol Hill archivist; Michele Pacifico, National Archives; and Karyl Winn, University of Washington, Seattle.

Special thanks are due Wendy Wolff for applying her editorial expertise to the project report, to

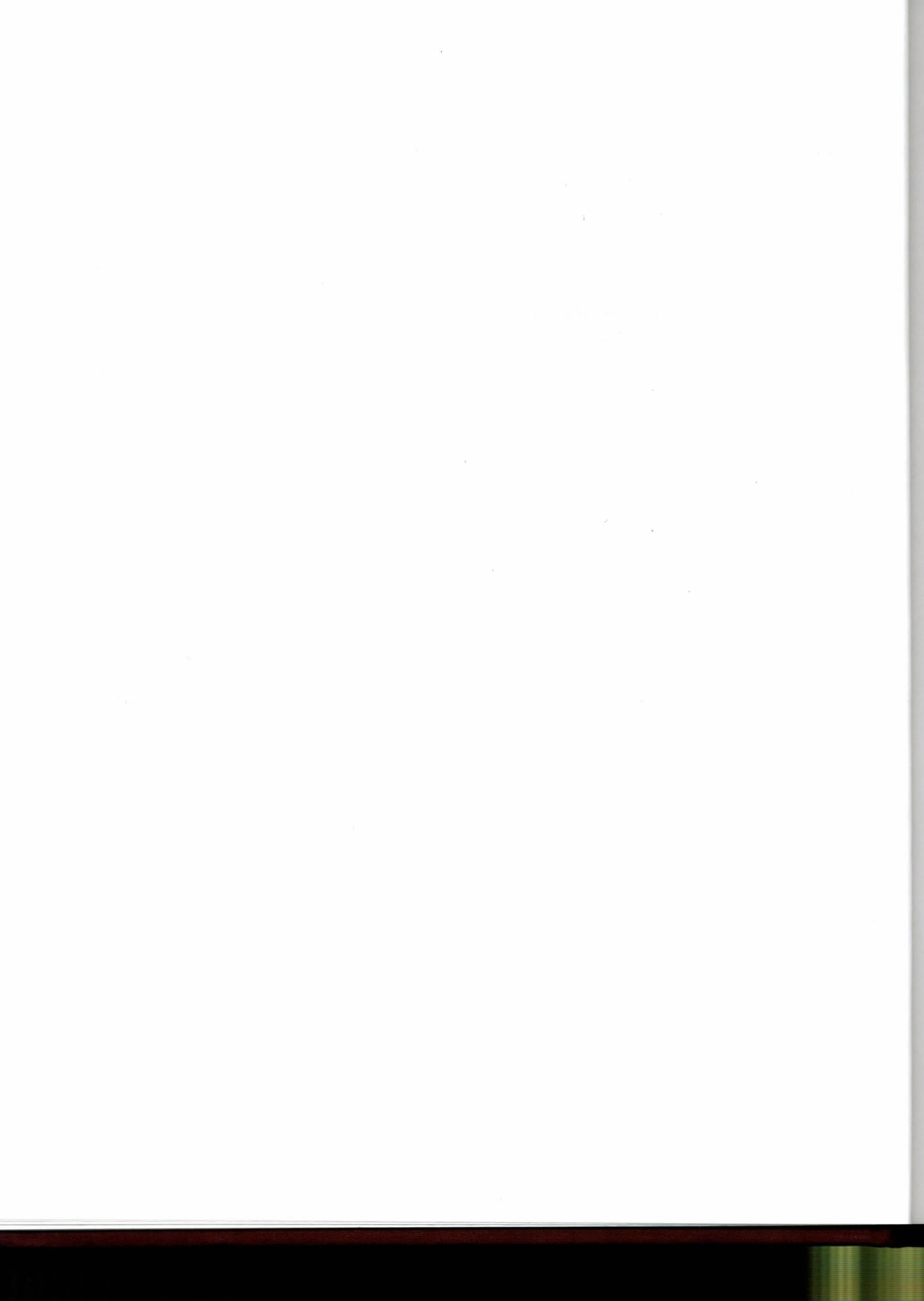
John Hamilton for assisting with the design and format, and to John Steen for assistance with producing the finished volume.

Finally, the knowledge and insights of Richard Baker and Donald Ritchie contributed greatly to the strengths of the report, while any of its weaknesses are entirely my own.

Karen Paul
Project Director
July 1992

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Summary Report and Recommendations

The Problem

The historical records of Congress are the building blocks of legislative histories. They are used to evaluate past legislation and to develop new legislation. Historians and political scientists rely on them to tell the story of the development and intent of public policy and to study the democratic process. When combined with records of the executive and judicial branches, they form the basis of our national history.

Historical records do not simply materialize. They must be identified amidst the vast amounts of material that have little historical or intrinsic value. Documents need to be selected for archival preservation based on an evaluation of their uniqueness as information sources, the usefulness of their format, and their research importance. Once identified, they need to be described, preserved, and made available for research purposes. All of these activities require time, effort, and funds. Over the past decade, congressional collections archivists have become increasingly alarmed about the growing volume of these materials and their lack of richness and consistency. Their overall research usefulness has been seriously questioned.

The effort to make congressional primary source material accessible is further complicated because committee records are "official" and are governed by statute and the internal rules of each body, while the records of members' offices are "private" and depend upon the widely varying administrative wishes of each member. Although these are vital and complementary information sources, they are not administered in a uniform manner. In addition, many other important "congressional" materials fall outside either of these two major recordkeeping traditions.

Further complications result from the fact that Congress itself has grown dramatically over the

past half century. Although the legislative branch now includes five major support agencies, very little has been done to evaluate the records of these agencies and to determine how they supplement the "official" records of Congress.

Another problem stems from the information explosion and the computer and telecommunications revolutions that have conspired to create even larger quantities of records, not fewer, as many originally thought. Locating information of lasting value has become more difficult, and preserving it in a form that will be accessible in the future despite changes in technology poses some tricky problems.

A final major challenge to establishing a strong body of congressional documentation derives from the democratic nature of Congress and its need to interact extensively with the executive and judicial branches and with the legions of interest groups outside of government. The records of these "significant others" have never to our knowledge been systematically evaluated to determine their value in telling the history of Congress and public policy.

As a result, congressional documentation is geographically scattered and administratively fragmented, and its overall strength is difficult to evaluate. Even archivists who work with congressional collections generally have little conception of the scope of available sources and how they fit together. Without this knowledge, archival appraisal has become exceedingly difficult, preventing archivists from serving as truly effective teachers of congressional research methodology and strategy.

With these concerns in mind, the Task Force on Congressional Documentation of the Society of American Archivists' Congressional Archivists Roundtable conducted a study to determine ways to address the effects of documentary fragmentation and loss. The study and its findings are delineated

in the full body of this report. The principal recommendations are summarized below.

Major Authorities

Central to this plan for coordinated action is the recognition that three primary authorities are responsible for preserving the records that document the legislative branch:

First, the members and officials of Congress are individually responsible for the on-site management of the information that is collected and maintained in their offices. Each member of Congress determines the archival disposition of his or her personal office records. The secretary of the Senate and clerk of the House are directly responsible for administering the collection of official records for their respective houses and for overseeing their transfer to the National Archives.

Second, the Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives preserves and provides access to the official records of Congress.

Third, literally hundreds of archival repositories across the country preserve and provide access to the personal papers that are deposited in them by the members.

The analysis and recommendations embodied in this report represent a comprehensive, coordinated approach that recognizes the interests and responsibilities of these three groups. Participation by all three is vital for the successful, cost-effective preservation of the historical records of Congress.

Major Findings

The Task Force systematically identified and evaluated the status of relevant sources of archival information about Congress. It found:

1) While congressional committees are relatively, although not uniformly, well documented, there is great variation in the documentary quality of individual members' collections. This variation is the result of uneven administration of collections in Washington, lack of planning, and lack of resources at some state repositories. The identification and preservation of records of enduring value in congressional committees and in members' offices needs to be strengthened in certain specific areas discussed below.

2) Of the five major congressional support agencies, only one, the General Accounting Office, has a comprehensive, though uneven, records management program. While two agencies, the Office of Technology Assessment and the Government Printing Office, have partial programs, two others, the Congressional Research Service and the Congressional Budget Office, have none. Despite the fact that these agencies provide vital information and services to Congress and play major roles in developing legislation, conducting investigations, and ensuring oversight, there exists no coordinated information retention plan that meets the long-term needs of Congress and that helps to complete the historical record of the legislative branch.

3) Records of the executive and judicial branches that document Congress are either under very good control, as in the instance of the presidential libraries, or are on the way to substantial improvements due to new historical and archival initiatives aimed at improving the preservation of the official records of the courts and the personal papers of judges. Most of these are outside the direct responsibility of the Congress, but are nevertheless within the collection and preservation interests of one, possibly two of the other major authorities, the Center for Legislative Archives or specialized individual repositories in the states.

4) Other sources enjoy varying degrees of archival management and accessibility. They include those of the national, congressional, and individual campaign committees; the political party organizations; and the congressional member organizations and caucuses. To these must be added the significant "outside" groups that interact with Congress in an integral way—the Capitol Hill press corps, the lobbyists, and the "think tanks". All are linked inextricably with the history of legislation, politics, and the progress of a democratic society. Yet they have been largely overlooked by the major congressional archival repositories as important sources for documenting Congress.

5) Individuals who use congressional collections find them to be the most valuable source of information for biographical and public policy studies, but many of the collections are difficult to use. For example, academic researchers seek improvements in access through better indexing,

more detailed descriptions, standardization of finding aids, and microfilm publication of important sequences so that scholars may access them through interlibrary loan.

6) Many important collections remain unprocessed due to lack of resources on the part of the archival repository. While many members of Congress assume responsibility for processing their collections while in Washington, DC, many more members need to add professional archival expertise to their staffs. Given the quantity of material that accumulates in an office, continuous identification and selection of potential archival materials is the only cost-effective way to ensure that information of long-term value will be preserved.

Methodology

Task Force members first established a working definition of the "functions" of Congress and then identified the sources that document each function. The functional definitions are included in the full body of this report, in order to establish a framework for analyses. This approach was chosen deliberately to avoid studying the problem in the traditional way, by concentrating on collections that have already found their way into archives. Instead, the team members began by asking, "what does Congress do and what sources document what Congress does?" The answers revealed a much more complex and detailed picture of congressional information.

The sources identified were examined through an evaluation of specific holdings, through surveys, through interviews with knowledgeable individuals, and by a review of relevant literature. In addition, a survey was conducted during 1991 to determine what records researchers use and which they judge to be most "useful." When the survey results were combined with the results of the documentation study, a detailed and specific action plan emerged.

Recommendations

This report is compiled as a working document to guide the plans and activities of those who share responsibility for and interest in the history of Congress, public policy, and democratic government. To improve the documentation of Congress and the legislative branch, the project members make the following recommendations.

Full discussion of these points may be found in pertinent sections of the complete report.

Legislative Documentation

The archives of Congress have always been preserved for the purpose of documenting the development of legislation, the oversight of executive agencies, the review of nominations and treaties, and the conduct of impeachment proceedings. The main sources of documentation are committee records and members' papers. Because of the growth in the size and complexity of these collections, congressional staff and archivists need to improve their understanding of what constitutes archival material and to develop the management skills to ensure its preservation. Implementation of the following recommendations will help to create and preserve a more comprehensive, more efficient, and more useful historical record.

1. Records management programs and guidelines. Authorities in both houses of Congress, with assistance from the Center for Legislative Archives, should develop strong records management programs through publications and seminars. Publications should include records management and disposition guidelines for members' offices and for congressional committees. A handbook has been produced for senators, but similar guidance does not exist for members of the House. The handbooks that are currently available for House and Senate committees should be reviewed for thoroughness and updated regularly.

The handbooks should be supplemented by pamphlets or information papers that highlight specific topics such as records ownership and disposition, the appraisal and disposition of electronic records including information transmitted by electronic mail, the administration of and access to sensitive materials in the office and in the repository, and the care of fragile media. The pamphlets should be designed as handouts for all staff while the handbooks present in-depth information for office managers and committee chief clerks.

Seminars should cover records management issues in setting up an office and records disposition for offices that are closing. The House and Senate should collaborate to produce joint records management and disposition guidelines for Joint

Committees which, at present, have none. The Center for Legislative Archives should encourage the transfer of committee records to the archives, and should identify gaps in the holdings where additional acquisition efforts must be made.

2. House archivist. The House of Representatives should establish a position of professional archivist to oversee the disposition of committee records and to assist members with matters of records management and disposition.

3. Survey of members. The Senate and House archivists should conduct a survey of all members of Congress to ascertain which and how many have designated repositories to receive their papers. Such a survey would produce useful information for shaping the congressional records-management and archival programs. It could also encourage members to designate a repository earlier, rather than later, in their congressional careers.

4. Special investigating committees. Records management guidelines should be provided to staff of special investigating committees of the House and Senate as they are setting up. Many of these staff are new to Congress and are unfamiliar with recordkeeping requirements. Records disposition language should be added to the legislation establishing these committees so that specially hired staff are reminded of each house's rules regarding committee records.

5. Records of legislative counsels. The House and Senate archivists should survey the records of the offices of legislative counsel in the House and the Senate to evaluate their records for possible archival retention. Materials from these offices have never been added to Congress' archival holdings. The Center for Legislative Archives should encourage the transfer of these records to the archives.

6. Documenting members' legislative activities. Archivists both in Congress and in the members' archival repositories should evaluate ways to improve documentation of members' actual involvement in the legislative process. Most sources detail the input of staff more than that of the members. These archivists should compile examples of effective methods of documentation from congressional or related (presidential, for example) collections and share this information with members' offices that are interested in im-

proving documentation of the member's day-to-day activities.

7. Other records management initiatives. Authorities in both houses should explore other possible initiatives to improve overall records management. These activities might include the provision of archival services or the distribution of guidelines designating specific member operating funds for archival management. They might also include establishing archival fellowships to bring archivists from the home state or district to Washington, DC to perform archival work for members who had agreed to donate their papers to an archival institution in the home state.

8. Coordination with repositories. Archivists in Congress and the Center for Legislative Archives should work closely with those in members' designated archives to ensure preservation of as complete a documentary record as possible. Achieving this goal will require cooperation in observing each house's rules regarding records ownership. It is recommended that all members' deeds of gift that transfer ownership of their papers to an archives include a phrase specifying that committee records belong to the respective body and may not be transferred out of the legal custody of that body. This approach would support the preservation and retention of records that belong to each body and would help counter the tendency by individual committee staff to send committee records to members' repositories. In cases where committee records become inextricably mixed with members' papers as a result of frequent crossover from one staff to the other, the presence of committee records should be identified and the archivists in Congress notified. Where possible, copies should be made of pertinent files and the originals returned to the Congress.

Representation

Members of Congress serve as representatives of the views, goals, and agendas of their constituents. Representation includes voting according to constituent desires, representing points of view in policy matters, assisting constituents with grant applications for government project funds, assisting constituents who have difficulties with the government bureaucracy, and providing information. Such activities result in the accumulation of massive volumes of constituent mail and case-

work both in the Washington, DC and state offices. Office management systems need to address the problems of preserving significant information, while disposing of transitory material on a regular basis. The following recommendations are designed to enhance written records management guidelines and to alert office managers about ways to improve management routines.

1. Establishing and maintaining constituent-related files. Office managers should establish discrete files for project assistance, casework, issue mail, VIP or substantive mail, and legislative correspondence, in order to facilitate disposition and preservation of the different kinds of information retained in these files. Segregating these files from one another is *the single most important action an office can take* to aid in their disposition.

Effective maintenance of project assistance files should focus on eliminating duplication by consolidating the function either in Washington or state offices. Routine casework files should be filed separately so that they can be stored at the Federal Records Center until they are no longer needed or until the member departs Congress. Offices are encouraged to microfilm constituent issue mail and discard duplicate copies prior to microfilming. Only issue mail of substance should be filmed, and the originals discarded. Offices should regularly dispose of routine requests and avoid filing them with issue mail.

a) Guidelines. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should develop guidelines on appraising and sampling casework and issue mail so that repositories wishing to maintain some casework files or a sampling of issue mail may do so and still reduce bulk.

b) Data bases. Office managers should use standard data base management software when they cross reference and index a variety of textual files maintained within the office, such as constituent correspondence, project assistance information, and various press files. If project work and casework are not filed separately and instead are interfiled with other records, they should be identified on computer-based indexes so that separate listings can be created. Systems managers should establish adequate indexing for representation records. It also is recommended that offices establish a methodology for identifying important issues or correspondents. These records can then be located

through the electronic index and pulled for preservation.

Where the capability exists to produce constituent correspondence indexes on computer output microfilm, it should be used. Standard software data bases containing documents, information files and index information should be preserved in electronic format.

c) Standards. Office and systems managers should adapt information management standards, including filing, indexing, and information routing and disposition routines. They should promote their consistent use by all staff in both the Washington, DC and state offices. A system of quality control should be implemented to ensure the continued application of the standards.

2. Coordinating with the repository. Repository archivists should establish communications with the offices of new members early in their House and Senate careers for the purpose of encouraging good records management practices. If a member has not selected a repository, a designated archivist from the state should contact that member to emphasize the importance of preserving his or her collection and to urge its deposit at some repository in the state. This contact should be made in cooperation with the House and Senate historical offices and archivists.

a) Issue mail. Archivists and congressional offices must reach mutual agreements on the need to discard, microfilm, or sample originals of incoming constituent issue letters. This must be done on an office-by-office basis due to the diversity of types of material that offices define and file as "issue mail."

b) Statewide efforts. Archivists should establish guidelines for developing statewide cooperative documentation efforts in order to minimize duplication of information and identify desirable documentation. Within each state, all repositories specializing in congressional documentation should develop a statewide cooperative collections-development guideline. Someone should be designated as the spokesperson for archivists within the state to ensure that all members of the state's congressional delegation are contacted about preserving their papers.

3. Role of Roundtable.

a) The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should prepare an information paper on project

assistance documentation in federal, state, municipal, and local records. The research paper should assess the relative value of information in the files at different levels of government and evaluate the extent to which information is duplicated among them. This information could be generated as part of a congressional archival information data-base project modeled on the National Archives' Inter-Governmental Records Project.

b) Guidelines. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should work with the museum community to prepare guidelines for members on the disposition of memorabilia and gifts. The guidelines should reflect applicable laws and regulations of the House and Senate, provide guidance on the type of memorabilia that is suitable for transfer to a member's designated archival repository, and contain suggestions for disposing of material not suitable for inclusion with a research collection. Suitability might depend on factors such as whether the object provides valuable information or evidence regarding the member and his or her family, its intrinsic significance, whether it is hand-crafted or commercial, and whether it relates to an interest or project of the member. These guidelines would be helpful to members, their staff, and to repositories that receive and preserve collections of members of Congress.

Congressional Leadership and Member Organizations

Sources for studying leadership in Congress are highly valued by historians and political scientists. They include records of individuals elected to leadership positions and those serving as committee and subcommittee chairs and ranking minority committee members. While some congressional leaders have maintained excellent collections, others have not. A major effort should be undertaken to ensure the preservation of materials generated in leadership offices. Since the often hectic atmosphere of such offices provides a less-than-ideal environment for records preservation, establishing a workable system will require the combined efforts of the leadership, their designated repositories, archivists within Congress, and the Center for Legislative Archives.

1. Cooperative effort. All archivists associated with congressional documentation should collaborate to ensure the preservation of leadership re-

cords, which are essential for documenting the political and legislative activities of Congress. Archivists in Congress should produce an informational pamphlet discussing preservation of leadership records and highlighting their exceptional historical and research value.

2. Records ownership evaluation mechanism. Authorities in the House and Senate should consider establishing an internal mechanism to resolve disputes about the ownership of files of committee chairs, subcommittee chairs, and ranking minority members that are maintained by the committees. The mechanism should permit evaluation of the files to determine whether they belong with the committee archive or the member's papers. Committee staff frequently retain what they deem to be politically sensitive information, either for their own use or for subsequent inclusion with the member's collection. When such material is withdrawn from the committee files, it usually is lost forever. If a method cannot be established to resolve questions and disputes, all research repositories receiving material that is clearly identifiable as committee generated and related to committee business should bring it to the attention of the appropriate authority in the respective house. If feasible, the material should be copied and the original returned to the Congress. If such material is inextricably mixed with a member's personal office records, the archival repository that receives the collection should administer the committee records according to the rules governing access to the official records.

3. Policy committees and caucuses. Archivists in both houses should systematically survey the records management practices of policy committees and caucuses. The congressional leadership should be encouraged to institute measures to preserve these records and make them available to scholars. Recently, the Senate Democratic Conference has taken steps to preserve its minutes at the Center for Legislative Archives. Other conferences and caucuses should be encouraged to take similar action.

4. Congressional Member Organizations. Commonly known as policy committees, caucuses, coalitions, informal groups, or ad hoc task forces, these groups help establish legislative priorities and compile and distribute timely information to their memberships. There are over one hundred such groups, including the party policy

organizations, legislative service organizations, and caucuses.

a) Archivists in Congress, in cooperation with the Center for Legislative Archives, should systematically survey records and prepare disposition guidelines for congressional member organizations (CMOs). Historically valuable records should be transferred to the Center for Legislative Archives.

b) Repository archivists preparing finding aids to collections of members' papers should identify CMO materials. CMO records in presidential libraries should also be noted in finding aids. This information should be included as part of a national congressional information data base.

Political Activities

The records of candidate recruitment and election campaigns, of political activities, of party leadership and congressional party organization are among the most frequently sought and used by scholars. Yet they are among the most difficult to collect and preserve, due to the fluid environment in which they are created, their sensitivity, their long-term usefulness to the members in subsequent campaigns, and the fact that there are no firm rules governing ownership and disposition of these materials. These recommendations are designed to improve documentation in this especially significant area.

1. Candidate recruitment and campaigns. Repositories specializing in documenting Congress should collect materials regarding candidate recruitment and campaigns, both of unsuccessful candidates and elected officials. Selection criteria might single out candidates in hotly contested, very interesting, or unique races. Repository archivists need to work closely with members of Congress to ensure the preservation of campaign records, which frequently become scattered in various places in the state and are not part of a regular disposition routine. In addition, fragile media (video and audio tapes of speeches, interviews, advertisements) comprise a significant portion of this material and are in need of proper storage and maintenance.

2. Noncongressional political organizations. Repository archivists should identify and evaluate records of organizations such as Leagues of Women Voters, political consultants, and media

consultants for possible inclusion with their congressional collections. While not all records of all such organizations should be preserved, a cooperative statewide or regional plan among repositories could ensure the preservation of representative organizations and add some resources that would fill gaps in the documentary record of the legislative/political process. Efforts should be made to preserve major advertising sequences and records of endorsement. To assist in this goal, the Congressional Archivists Roundtable should develop a pamphlet describing the materials sought by repositories and use it for solicitation purposes. A list of likely organizations by state or region should be drawn up.

3. Political party records. Archivists need to develop positive strategies to overcome such major obstacles to collecting political party records as decentralization, high staff turnover, organization finances, and donor reluctance. Archivists should contact all units of the established parties, as well as temporary political associations while they are active, and encourage them to save their records. Cooperative efforts are needed among repositories to obtain commitments for long-term deposit. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should prepare a solicitation pamphlet directed at political parties that emphasizes collecting the records of campaign managers.

a) In the 1970s, both national committees formulated deposit agreements with the National Archives. Under these arrangements access and ownership reside with the committees for ten years from the date of deposit, and then are deeded to the United States. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should contact each party committee to encourage its respective state and local organizations to deposit their records in appropriate institutions in the states.

b) An interested archival repository should consider compiling a comprehensive guide to the locations of political party records, in order to facilitate their preservation, evaluation, and use. A grant might be obtained to fund such a project.

c) Archivists also need aggressively to solicit the papers of minor parties, ad hoc party groups, interest groups, and PACs. Losing candidates should also be included when their influence and impact appear to warrant documentation, for ex-

ample, if their influence on mainstream politics can be measured. A survey of literature or of researchers using these sources could help in developing appraisal guidelines.

d) Congressional archivists should investigate the possibility of creating a coordinated national effort at documenting political parties, in order to determine, for example, whether such coordination would make possible systematic preservation of political party collections in selected states, cities or regions.

Administration and Support: Inside Congress

Administrative functions within the Congress are generally well documented due to statutory requirements for full public disclosure of congressional operations. The following recommendations are designed to improve archival management and documentation.

1. Clerk of the House. Records of the offices of the clerk of the House of Representatives should be surveyed, appraised, and scheduled.

2. Sergeants at arms. Records of the sergeant at arms of each house should be surveyed, appraised, and scheduled.

3. Architect of the Capitol. A guide to the holdings of the architect of the Capitol should be produced and distributed in order to improve scholarly access to these rich collections. Records within those holdings documenting buildings in Washington other than those of the Congress should be evaluated for transfer to appropriate archival repositories where they would be preserved and made available for research (e.g., Smithsonian Institution buildings to Smithsonian, other records to National Archives). These could be deposited in the appropriate archives, with ownership retained by the architect.

4. Legislative counsels. Records of the legislative counsel of each house should be surveyed, appraised, and scheduled.

5. Capitol police. Authorities within Congress should ensure that the historical files of the Capitol police are identified and transferred to the Center for Legislative Archives.

Congressional Support Agencies

The Congressional Budget Office, the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, the General Accounting Office, the Government Printing Office, and the Office of Technology Assessment provide Congress with information and services that are integral to its legislative, oversight, and investigative activities. No integrated archival program exists for these holdings, even though the records of these agencies are as relevant to the establishment of legislative histories, the evaluation of public policy, and the overall history of Congress as are the records of congressional committees and of the members.

General Accounting Office

The General Accounting Office is unique among congressional support agencies in having a comprehensive records schedule. While its records program is efficient in terms of *disposing* of materials, it has not adequately provided for the *retention* of historical files and data relating to Congress' long-term information needs.

1. Survey and appraisal.

a) A survey and appraisal should be made of the General Accounting Office's centralized files, the so-called "A" and "B" files, and the retention period changed. Dating from 1921, these files contain a great mass of information of varying historical value. Because the files deal with GAO's work with other federal agencies, they contain much valuable documentation about the history of the federal government and the nation. There are probably no other records in the federal government that document so directly the rights of citizens and the obligations of their government. The GAO records schedule specifies a retention period of only 80 years for these files, which means that in less than a decade GAO's earliest records will be subject to destruction.

b) Furthermore, these subject files often concern ongoing issues, and may contain material spanning a period of 20 years. There are 999,999 A-files and over 244,000 B-files, some of which contain multiple folders. The files should be reviewed file by file, and item by item. This is the only method by which important historical materials may be identified and saved for permanent retention, while allowing other material of little

value to be destroyed. The selected materials should then be offered to the Center for Legislative Archives. In the meantime, the retention period should be extended pending a full review of the files.

This project may require special funding, since it will be time-consuming and probably of several years' duration. It should be carried out by professional historians and archivists devoted specifically to the task.

2. GAO Law Library. Archival materials in the GAO Law Library consisting of orders, circulars, bulletins, and memoranda should be surveyed and evaluated as potential record copy because a record copy may not exist elsewhere. Consideration should be given to assessing each item in the collection and offering items of historical value to the Center for Legislative Archives, subject to prior discussion with GAO officials. Items of special significance should be evaluated for preservation copying, using either microfilm or other technology.

3. GAO Comprehensive Records Schedule. A full review of the GAO Comprehensive Records Schedule should be undertaken for the purpose of identifying additional historical materials that should be kept permanently. The schedule should reflect the information retention needs of the House and Senate, which it currently does not.

4. Administering GAO records. The Center for Legislative Archives should administer all GAO historical records in a manner similar to House and Senate records.

Congressional Research Service, Office of Technology Assessment, Congressional Budget Office, and Government Printing Office

While the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) and the Government Printing Office (GPO) have transferred some records to the Center for Legislative Archives, neither has a comprehensive records schedule that governs all of its records. The Congressional Research Service (CRS), despite the importance of its files for documenting the history of legislation and public policy, does not have a comprehensive records schedule nor does CRS participate in the archival program of the Library of Congress. The Congressional Bud-

get Office (CBO) also lacks a records schedule and has never transferred material to the Archives. This is a serious omission in Congress' historical records program that should be addressed as soon as possible.

1. Congressional Research Service. The administrative and reference materials of CRS constitute a significant source of documentation of the legislative process. Current materials constitute an important resource for members and staff; older and noncurrent records form a major resource for documenting the history of Congress.

a) A comprehensive records survey of CRS holdings should be undertaken either by the staff of CRS or by Library of Congress records management staff, and a schedule should be produced.

b) The CRS schedule should be reviewed and approved by appropriate authorities of Congress to ensure the identification and preservation of records of lasting value to the Congress.

c) A CRS archives should be established.

d) A public access policy for CRS archival material should be drawn up and approved in consultation with appropriate authorities in Congress.

2. OTA, GPO, CBO. Records management staff in each agency, with assistance from the Center for Legislative Archives and House and Senate archivists if needed, should conduct a comprehensive survey of OTA, GPO, and CBO records and schedule all archival records, including electronic records. The archival records should be consolidated under the administrative control of the Center for Legislative Archives.

a) The Center for Legislative Archives should ascertain the whereabouts and encourage the preservation and donation of the personal papers of past directors of OTA, CBO, and GPO.

b) The Center for Legislative Archives should ensure that a record set of all OTA and CBO publications is preserved.

c) The Center for Legislative Archives should evaluate retention of GPO published congressional documents and determine what additional records should become part of a permanent collection at the Center. An evaluation of formats (text, electronic) for retention should also be conducted.

3. All congressional support agencies.

a) A formal process should be established within the House and Senate (such as a review committee comprised of congressional historians, archivists, and relevant committee staff) to ensure that the interests of both bodies are represented in the creation of records disposition schedules for the congressional support agencies.

b) Records management officials within each agency should establish a vital records program.

External Relations:

Executive Branch

The executive branch and the president are important influences in congressional decision making. While presidential libraries and the National Archives administer strong archival programs for these sources, there is a need to identify and describe the materials that relate to Congress, which in some instances are more revealing than parallel information in members' papers or committee records. The existence of this information needs to be better publicized throughout the congressional research community.

1. Presidential libraries. Archivists at the presidential libraries should compile resource articles describing the material they have about Congress and the development of legislative programs. This information should be incorporated into a legislative/congressional finding aids data base.

2. Identifying congressional material in departmental and agency records. Archivists at the Center for Legislative Archives should compile resource articles on significant material concerning Congress that is located in departmental and agency records. Articles could explain the nature and extent of congressional material and evaluate its relevance to traditional legislative history sources. A survey of selected existing National Archives inventories would be a possible first step to identify such material. This survey data could be incorporated into a congressional data base of archival sources.

Judicial Branch

While most documentation of interaction between the Congress and the judiciary resides in the records of congressional committees and in

the personal papers of members of Congress, additional material also exists in official records of the courts, records of bar associations, and in the personal papers of judges. The following recommendations are designed to strengthen existing archival programs and to suggest others.

1. Congressional-judicial cooperation. Congressional archivists should encourage and assist the efforts of the National Archives, the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, and the Federal Judicial Center History Office to improve the archival and records management practices of the federal judiciary, so that interactions between the legislative and judicial branches can be better documented. Likewise, the National Archives should work with appropriate authorities to improve documentation of the Supreme Court and preservation of its records, as it has with courts below the Supreme Court.

2. Personal papers of judges. Congressional archivists may wish to expand their congressional collections by adding the papers of judges who were associated with particular politicians or political philosophies, who may have assisted Congress in the development of legislation pertaining to the courts, or who were significant players in statutory interpretation decisions that were overridden by Congress. These archivists should encourage federal judges, especially those serving in leadership positions and those on the Supreme Court, to place their personal papers, including their working papers, in appropriate manuscript repositories.

3. Identifying congressional materials in judicial records. The Center for Legislative Archives should prepare resource articles describing material in National Archives judicial holdings that document congressional-judicial relations. This information should be incorporated into a legislative finding aid or data base.

The Media

The relationship between Congress and journalists is as old as Congress. It is the subject of much comment and study. Members' papers contain strong documentation on this topic from the member's point of view. Collections of legislative and political journalists are also considered valuable archival sources, but they have not been systematically identified and collected by

congressionally focused archives. The collections of editorial writers, columnists, and cartoonists can be strong documentary additions to the history of Congress and the democratic process. The records of the Congressional press galleries also remain outside of archival control.

1. Media records at the National Archives. The Center for Legislative Archives should incorporate into a legislative data base or finding aid information about journalistic and media sources within the National Archives that document the history of Congress. For example, the C-SPAN videotape recordings of congressional committee hearings are not generally known in legislative research circles. The Center for Legislative Archives should evaluate inclusion of journalistic and media records as part of its collections development policy.

2. Periodicals. An interested congressional archivist should identify the major periodical sources of news coverage of Congress and survey them regarding their archival holdings, access policies and available reference staff. A guide to such holdings could then be compiled. This might be an appropriate project for grant funding.

3. Press galleries. Appropriate authorities in each house should systematically contact the governing committee of each press gallery to offer guidance in the use of the Center for Legislative Archives to store their permanent records. Each house should issue guidelines to the press galleries on identifying and preserving permanently valuable files and on gaining access to sensitive records. The permanently valuable records maintained by press galleries should become part of the permanent historical record of Congress.

4. Journalists' papers. Congressional archivists might encourage an interested archival repository to undertake development of a location guide to the papers of individual journalists that have been deposited in archives and manuscript collections. Such a guide would be a useful finding aid for congressional archivists, as well as journalism students, and would be worthy of potential grant funding.

a) The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should consider preparing a biographical list of individual journalists who have covered Congress, together with guidelines for state and local archival repositories to collect, preserve and make

available for research the papers of such journalists. This information could be incorporated into a model congressional collections development statement.

b) Congressional archivists should undertake surveys of the records and papers of those journalists who routinely cover legislative affairs and who also act as legal correspondents. Such collections would be appropriate for accessioning with other congressionally focused materials.

Lobbying Activities

Lobbying has played a critical role in the development of legislation and public policy since the beginning of the United States government. While documentation of lobbying exists primarily in public interest group collections that have found their way to research repositories, archivists have not systematically evaluated lobbying information for its value in documenting the legislative process. To improve documentation of lobbying, the task force recommends the following:

1. Identification. Congressional archivists who wish to develop resources on the legislative process should identify lobbyists and lobbying groups that have played a significant role in issue areas that the repository wishes to document. For example, if the repository holds collections of members who were outstanding in promoting national defense, that repository might wish to identify the firms and/or particular lobbyists associated with the efforts of the member. The Center for Legislative Archives should evaluate inclusion of lobbying records as part of its collections development policy.

2. Survey. The repository should survey the records of the sources (firms, individual lobbyists, public interest groups) it has identified and ascertain their status and availability for research. The archivists can then appraise the records for possible accessioning or maintain information for researchers about the whereabouts and availability of privately held collections.

3. Policy statement. A model congressional collections policy statement should discuss the records of lobbying groups, lobbyists, and PACs as potential sources for strengthening documentation of the legislative process. Criteria for selecting representative lobbying collections and appraisal

criteria should be developed and incorporated into the statement.

4. Documentation strategy. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should debate and evaluate the broader rationale of the existing situation, in which institutions generally keep documentation related to lobbying as part of a larger subject area like civil rights, rather than in a separate category to document the role of lobbying in the legislative process. Is the current procedure enough, or should archivists devise a separate documentation strategy for lobbying?

5. Archivists who decide to document the role of lobbying in the political/legislative process need to be aggressive in soliciting the papers of lobbyists and PACs. Lobbying groups should be encouraged either to preserve their archives in-house or to donate materials to an appropriate repository.

Public Policy Research Centers

Public Policy Research Centers (think tanks), nongovernmental nonprofit public policy organizations, have since their inception in the early twentieth century, played an increasingly important role in the development of public policy. One has only to glance at congressional committee records to discover the extent of their contact with the Congress. While a few of the older, traditional "think tanks" have established archival programs, many of the newer groups have not. To encourage preservation of the records of the more influential policy centers, the task force recommends the following:

1. Identification. Because think tanks have an important function in the development of public policy, both in the executive branch and in Congress, archivists interested in the documentation of Congress should identify those think tanks that have played strong roles on the congressional scene. The Center for Legislative Archives should evaluate inclusion of think tank records as part of its collections development policy.

2. Survey. When the think tanks have been identified, a systematic survey, building on one conducted in 1987 by Michele Pacifico of the National Archives, should be undertaken to ascertain the status of each institution's archival program and the availability of its holdings for research.

Repositories interested in developing holdings in the congressional area can use information obtained from a systematic survey to identify potential collections. The Center for Legislative Archives may wish to evaluate its interest in this area.

3. Preservation. Think tanks active in the legislative area should be encouraged either to preserve their archives in-house or to donate their materials to an appropriate repository. The institutions should be encouraged to provide whatever support they can to repositories that agree to accept their collections. One type of assistance, for example, might be preliminary processing to lessen the financial burden on the repository.

4. Policy statement. A model congressional collections policy statement should include an observation that the records of think tanks are a potential source for strengthening documentation of the legislative process.

5. Guide. A guide should be completed giving the locations of public policy center archives and including information regarding public access. This guide should be made available to congressional researchers, especially in the Center for Legislative Archives and at other repositories that specialize in congressional materials. Preparation of such a finding aid would be useful in encouraging notable think tanks to identify and provide for the long-term care of their historical records.

Improving Congressional Documentation Through Use of Oral History

Because a great deal of legislative business is conducted orally and is not recorded, congressional archivists need to consider the use of structured interviews to fill out some of the steps in the documentary record. Information is spotty or nonexistent in the areas of conference committee actions, oral exchanges during the last-minute pull and tug of a final controversial or major vote, last-minute legislative bargaining, partisan disagreements and the development of partisan strategies, the investigative process of committees, the conduct of campaigns and recruitment, and the role of political parties. The following recommendations are directed at improving exist-

ing congressional oral history programs and suggesting some new ones.

1. House. An oral history project patterned after the Senate Historical Office project to interview long-serving Senate committee and administrative staff should be started for the House of Representatives. Guidelines for a model congressional oral history project should be developed and promulgated.

2. Repositories. Manuscript repositories holding congressional papers should consider doing oral history interviews with family, staff, and associates of the congressional donors. Questionnaires might be used effectively in instances where a full interview is not possible.

3. The Center for Legislative Archives. The Center should encourage oral history projects to focus on congressional topics in need of amplification and itself conduct selective oral history interviews to fill gaps in the textual records.

4. Exit interviews. While most committee investigative records thoroughly document the subject of the investigation, they rarely shed light on the investigative process itself. Congressional oral history projects could add to the available documentation by doing selected interviews with investigative staff prior to their departure. "Exit interviews" with selected staff would contribute greatly to the documentary record of congressional investigations and the history of each house.

5. Candidates and campaigns. Archival repositories should develop oral history programs to supplement their political history collections. Interviews are essential to the creation of a full documentary record of modern political life but are especially useful for documenting recruitment and an individual's private decision to seek public office. A facile answer, such as "I wanted to serve my state," may actually be the reason that motivated a candidate, but certainly at some point the individual running for Congress had to weigh such other factors as: would I enjoy the office, can I win, and what changes will this make in my life. Under careful questioning, a thoughtful respondent can add a great deal to the historical record, particularly regarding recruitment. Interviews also are useful for documenting the campaign itself which, if hotly contested, causes strategies to be frequently adjusted with little record kept of

the changes. Besides the candidates and their campaign directors, other potential interviewees include family members, local newspaper editors, political advertisers, and colleagues from prior public service or business/professional backgrounds. Oral history projects should broaden their scope to include such relevant individuals.

Interviews with candidates, campaign managers and party officials would help to document the inner workings of party organization and its power structure, as well as behind-the-scenes political maneuvering. Projects should begin early in the repository's relationship with the donor and be broadly based, focusing, for example, on "the life and times of congressperson X".

6. Leadership. A major oral history project should be developed to document the history of congressional leadership. Much of the art of leadership is not recorded, and archivists must seek other ways to document it. Perhaps one of the emerging "congressional research centers" might wish to undertake or coordinate such a project. Grant money could be a possible source of funding. The Center for Legislative Archives should evaluate doing such a project as part of its effort to document congressional leadership.

7. Policy committees. Since textual documentation of policy-oriented CMO floor activities is non-existent, create a model congressional oral history interview guideline that includes staff of the party policy committees and focuses on their floor support role.

8. Congressional-judicial relations. Oral history interviews are valuable for filling gaps in the historical record. The history of legislation and of congressional/judicial relations would be enhanced through such efforts. Several interviews with district, circuit, and Supreme Court judges already reside in a number of repositories including the curator's office of the Supreme Court. Funding should be encouraged for oral history projects with federal judges, and repositories holding the papers of judges should consider doing interviews.

9. Lobbying. Oral history interviews can capture information about lobbying and, when long-time lobbyists are interviewed, present a picture of the ways lobbying has changed over time. Guidelines for political/congressional oral history projects should discuss the use of this source.

Physical Preservation of Nontextual Congressional Sources

Increasingly, archival records reside on non-textual media. Without exception, these new record formats are fragile and are in need of better on-site care. The following recommendations are designed to improve the preservation of non-textual media, which increasingly have been arriving at archival repositories in poor, if not irreparably damaged, condition.

1. Guidelines. Both houses should promulgate records management guidelines that emphasize the need to preserve audio and video tapes, films, news releases, and clippings within congressional papers. The guidelines should include information about preservation microfilming of scrapbooks and photocopying of clippings and should discuss the issues of acid-free paper, recycled papers, and the archival implications for a member's collection. Both houses should conduct workshops or seminars on the proper care and handling of photographs, slides, tapes and films to prevent their inadvertent destruction.

2. Office storage. Office managers need to pay greater attention to the preservation of fragile media stored on site. They should institute appropriate filing, labeling, indexing, and storage of photographs, tapes, and other fragile media that accumulate in their offices. To preserve newspaper and *Congressional Record* clippings, which are valuable research sources, office managers should ensure that the material is either photocopied or microfilmed and cross-referenced with relevant press files.

3. Computerized records. House and Senate records management guidelines should include recommendations for preserving records maintained in personal computer systems and on centralized systems. Such records should either be transferred to paper or ASCII files or be retained in computer format, as determined in consultation with the House and Senate archivists and the repository archivists.

The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should compile case studies on particular instances of appraisal of congressional electronic records, including electronic mail systems. Specific examples of appraisal decisions would assist archivists confronting congressional computer systems for the first time. The Center for Legisla-

tive Archives, in cooperation with the Center for Electronic Records, should identify and preserve valuable electronic records and monitor developments in new automated recordkeeping systems and formats used in Congress.

Access to Congressional Sources

Congressional archival sources are geographically scattered and have not been brought under intellectual control through a common finding aid or data base. There is great variation among existing finding aids, both in the use of descriptive terminology and in the level of comprehension of the legislative process among the archivists who prepared them. With certain exceptions, archivists have not consciously set out to create congressional research centers—collections built around the theme of documenting Congress. Even the research centers that have established Congress as a major collecting theme infrequently evaluate congressional resources in their full and broad context. The following recommendations are designed to improve the public's access to information about Congress and the legislative branch.

1. Access to members' collections. Congressional archivists should encourage members to establish reasonable access guidelines for their collections so that the collections will be available for research at the earliest possible time consistent with personal privacy and national security considerations and limitations set by federal law. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should study the question of access to collections and make a recommendation for standards that could be widely adopted in congressional donation agreements.

2. Archival data base. To facilitate access to information about the location and content of congressional source materials, congressional archivists should study the feasibility of developing an inter-institutional archival descriptive project or national congressional archival data base. Such a project could be designed to encourage the sharing of information about holdings, appraisal decisions, and reference services. There are already a number of national network structures in place, and the National Archives is creating a computer-based finding aid for its holdings. The next step would be to investigate the creation of a data base

that would link descriptions of congressional holdings in private archives with the archival collections of Congress. Information about congressional oral histories should be incorporated into the data base, together with information about other types of closely related legislative and political sources. The Center for Legislative Archives could act as a clearinghouse for this effort. The Center can also serve as a national reference facility on the study of Congress by creating a collection of finding aids to the legislative holdings of other institutions.

3. Campaign finance data. The Center for Legislative Archives should prepare a resource paper detailing and explaining how to access the campaign spending information that is available to scholars at the National Archives and the Federal Election Commission. Congressional repositories in the states should compile guides to state sources of campaign finance, personal finance, lobbying, and related information. These finding aids should be available to congressional researchers.

4. Model policy statement. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should develop a model "collections development policy statement" for archival institutions that are interested in specializing in congressional/legislative/political research. This model statement would be designed for use by any repository planning to develop its holdings in this area. The policy statement should outline a comprehensive development plan to acquire research collections that supplement each other, in order to create an integrated meaningful body of primary source information about Congress. Such a statement would assist states in developing statewide cooperative collecting efforts.

a) The statement should specify that congressional collections should be donated to a research institution in the member's home state because that is where the collection will be of greatest use.

b) The statement should identify as potential areas of interest the collections of party officials, journalists, political parties, and congressional scholars that are relevant to the goals of the institution. It should include pertinent (non-Congress) journalistic sources, like the C-SPAN broadcasts of congressional events that are preserved at the National Archives and at Purdue University and

the personal papers of local editors and journalists who focused on Congress.

c) Private research collections. Archivists seeking to build collections strength in the area of the history of Congress should evaluate the research collections of academic and independent scholars who study Congress and who compile hard-to-obtain information in the course of their research. Archivists should actively seek these collections, rather than waiting until the individual scholar dies or retires. This recommendation should appear in a model congressional collections policy statement.

5. Cooperative efforts. Congressional archivists, both those in the states and those in Washington, DC, should devise a "cooperative documentation strategy statement." Sister institutions sharing the same interests should also develop cooperative efforts, such as devising a complementary appraisal and retention strategy; sharing efforts to contact and form deposit agreements with members of an entire state delegation; deciding on specialized collecting areas that would result in a more comprehensive and selective historical record of Congress; or even sharing staff expertise if trips to Capitol Hill become necessary for records management purposes. The Center for Legislative Archives, in cooperation with the House and Senate Historical Offices and the Congressional Archivists Roundtable, should develop a collections policy statement that outlines major areas of documentation to be collected by the Center.

6. Creating additional documents. Individual archival repositories can also create their own documentation that will enhance the usefulness of their congressional collections. A self-contained clipping service, for example, or systematic gathering of local newspaper and ephemeral materials, could supplement information about Congress.

7. Privacy Act guidelines. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should produce guidelines on how the Privacy Act affects access to information retained in congressional records. The guidelines should offer appropriate advice regarding access to members' collections.

8. Outreach activities. The congressional Archivists Roundtable should compile and publicize examples of successful archival outreach projects,

including exhibits, development of special courses, teaching packets, and other programs designed to promote access to and use of congressional archival information. The Center for Legislative Archives should support efforts by other institutions to disseminate information about and increase the understanding of Congress, as well as engaging in its own outreach activities.

Resource Requirements

Many of the recommendations in this report can be implemented without additional funding. This includes all recommendations that are based on better planning, improved communications, and coordination and sharpening of efforts by the three authorities that are responsible for preserving the documentation of Congress. Improving the records management programs within Congress, for example, can be accomplished largely through improved educational efforts directed at existing staff using existing resources. Projects calling upon the expertise and time of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable membership can be accomplished by their incorporation into the Roundtable's agenda of programs and activities.

Other projects, such as developing oral history projects, appraising the records of the General Accounting Office, establishing outreach programs, and developing a congressional archival

data base probably will require additional funds in most instances where these projects are undertaken. Occasionally, funding is available through state and federal grant sources. Private sources also have been tapped successfully by a number of repositories. A list of prior examples of funding for congressional papers projects is maintained by the Senate Historical Office. The Congressional Archivists Roundtable newsletter also reports instances when its members have obtained funds for congressional archival projects. These reports are featured at the Roundtable's annual meeting. Finally, the Center for Legislative Archives carefully monitors its resource requirements and reports them to the Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress which was established under authority of Public Law 101-509 (November 5, 1990) to advise Congress and the archivist of the United States on the management and preservation of the records of Congress. (See *Advisory Committee on the Records of Congress, First Report*, December 31, 1991, available from the Center for Legislative Archives.) However, additional funding sources will need to be identified in order to implement fully the documentation strategy. This is particularly true of projects to arrange and describe congressional collections that remain unprocessed, and of those projects to identify and preserve congressional papers where there is no coordinated state-wide effort to collect such material.

Chapter I: Understanding the Institutional Setting

Most expert Congress-watchers point to the past few decades as a time that brought substantive changes to the Congress. An appreciation of the contemporary institution is essential to understanding and interpreting Congress' functions and related archival documentation. The following description outlines the constitutional powers of Congress and delineates the contemporary forces that influence congressional recordkeeping and shape the existing documentary record.

Congress' Constitutional Powers

Article I of the Constitution of the United States established Congress and granted it an array of powers, the heart of which is the power to tax and spend. Section 7 provides that "all Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills." While no restriction was placed on the Senate's right to originate appropriation bills, subsequent practice has established the tradition of appropriations bills originating in the House.

Congress also was given the right to remove the president or members of the judiciary. The power of impeachment is assigned to the House in Section 2. Section 3 gives the Senate the sole power to sit as a court and try all impeachments.

While the president in Article II is given the power to make treaties and nominate individuals for high office, the Senate must provide "advice and consent". Article V assigns Congress the power to initiate constitutional amendments. The Constitution also gave Congress certain "house-keeping" functions. Each chamber adopts its own rules and disciplines its own members.

Article I, Section 8 sets forth the eighteen enumerated powers of Congress, nearly half of which relate to Congress' role in conducting national defense. Congress was given the power to lay and

collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. The legislature was authorized to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce; to establish uniform rules of naturalization and uniform laws of bankruptcy; to coin money, regulate its value and that of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures; to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting of securities; to establish post offices and roads; by establishing copyright, to promote the progress of science and useful arts; to constitute courts inferior to the Supreme Court; to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; to declare war and make rules concerning captures on land and sea; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the regulation of land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, repel invasions and suppress insurrections; to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia; and to exercise jurisdiction over the seat of government.

Most important, Congress was authorized to make all laws "which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution its enumerated powers." This clause enabled Congress to expand its authority into many spheres not anticipated at the time the Constitution was formulated. Exercise of these Constitutional powers defines the core of Congress' basic and historic functions: legislative, judicial (impeachments), executive (nominations, treaties), and administrative. Other functions, such as representational, political, and external relations, have evolved over time.

Workload

The workload of Congress has increased drastically. Into the twentieth century, Congress was

largely a part-time institution, remaining in session an average of 9 months out of 24. In recent years, the House and Senate are seldom out of session. Each house generally is in session for approximately 300 days during the two years of a Congress. Since the 1950's, there has been a sharp increase in all aspects of the workload: numbers of bills introduced and passed, number of committee and subcommittee meetings per Congress, number of hours in session, and number of floor votes taken. The peak was reached around 1976 and 1977. Since that time, there have been downturns in a number of statistical measures as a result of reforms that cut back on committee assignments of members and deficit reduction efforts that cut back staffing levels. Recent downturns in the total numbers of bills passed perhaps reflect the practice of "packaging" measures into lengthier, omnibus forms, rather than a decline in the amounts of legislation.

Size

An increasing workload prompted an **increase in size** of the legislative branch. Congress is made of a great deal more than 435 Representatives, 100 Senators, one resident commissioner and four delegates. To these must be added congressional staffs, committee staffs, and the staffs of no fewer than four congressional support agencies - all playing substantial roles in the legislative process. In 1960, approximately 6,000 people were employed in the House and Senate in members' offices and on committees. Today there are approximately 15,000. The grand total for staff in the legislative branch, including members' offices, committees, support agencies, the architect of the Capitol, and Capitol Police is approximately 30,000. While growth of the legislative branch has leveled off in recent years, the size of the contemporary Congress contrasts sharply with that of the World War II period.

The **four support agencies that provide non-partisan information and analyses of policy options** to Congress include the Congressional Research Service, established in 1914, the General Accounting Office, established in 1921, the Office of Technology Assessment, established in 1972, and the Congressional Budget Office, established in 1974. These agencies are staffed by professional experts offering analyses independent from those of executive agencies or special interest groups.

During the 1970's, these agencies experienced growth and expansion of services into new policy areas.

The Congressional Research Service (formerly the Legislative Reference Service) was strengthened by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 to enable it to work more closely with committees and perform indepth policy research in addition to providing more immediate and short-term information services.

The General Accounting Office serves as Congress' main field investigator, auditor, and program evaluator. It employs approximately 5000 individuals and produces more than 1000 reports each year pertaining to the examination of agency accounts, federal program performance, and the economy and efficiency of governmental operations. Since the 1970's, GAO's auditing role has expanded to include the evaluation of executive branch programs and policy decisions in domestic and international issue areas.

The Office of Technology Assessment was established by the Technology Assessment Act to analyze major public policy issues related to scientific and technological change. OTA performs long-range studies of technological issues and provides Congress with advance warning of new developments that could have important implications for future federal policy. The staff includes approximately 195 permanent employees and as many as 2,000 outside experts each year who work on special contract studies.

The Congressional Budget Office was created by the Budget and Impoundment Control Act. Its staff of approximately 225 provides basic budget data and analyses of alternative fiscal, budgetary, and programmatic policy issues. The office supplies Congress with information necessary to make decisions regarding spending and taxing levels and the deficit or surplus they incur. This information forms the basis for weighing priorities for national resource allocation and issues of fiscal policy.

Committees and Subcommittees

Another significant change is the **evolution of committees and subcommittees** which has opened and further decentralized the legislative process. According to Roger H. Davidson and Walter J. Oleszek, authors of the authoritative *Congress and Its Members* (1985), legislative

policymaking in the twentieth century can be divided into three eras: party government (early 1900's), committee government (1910 to late 1960's), and subcommittee government (early 1970's forward).¹

Committees have always played a central role in legislative decisionmaking. At first, committees were ad hoc groups assigned to one issue. The House created the first standing committee in 1789, the Committee on Elections. By 1810, it had ten. Between 1789 and 1807, the Senate established only four standing committees, all administrative rather than legislative in nature. In 1816, the Senate added eleven to the existing four. As standing committees evolved, they grew more independent of chamber and party control until in the twentieth century, under the seniority system, committee chairs wielded immense authority. Senior committee chairmen often dominated legislative policymaking in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Changes in the late 1960s and early 1970s led to the demise of a rigid seniority system and power became decentralized. House and Senate committee chairs were elected by their party, and subcommittees became more important, growing in autonomy, number and influence. Today, committees and subcommittees process the bulk of Congress' workload as almost all legislation is reviewed and reported by committees. Approximately 1500 measures are reported out of committees each Congress.

The trend toward greater decision making and influence on the part of subcommittees was especially prevalent in the House, where by 1978, subcommittees possessed the staff, jurisdiction, and budget to carry out effective legislative policy making and oversight. A similar trend emerged in the Senate, but not uniformly among all committees. Only Appropriations, Commerce, Governmental Affairs, Judiciary, and Labor have strong subcommittee organization and functioning. The creation of more centers of power contributes to policy fragmentation, to the point that yet another "Committee on the Organization of Congress" is being proposed by members who wish to streamline the process.

Besides standing committees, there are select and special committees and joint House-Senate committees. Select and special committees are usually established for a limited period of time with a limited and well defined objective, although some become permanent. Both House and

Senate, for example, have select committees on Intelligence which are permanent. Select panels serve several purposes. Their creation tends to publicize the issue or subject of investigation and likewise enhances the visibility of the committee members. They provide a focal point for specialized interest groups such as senior citizens and Native Americans. Finally, they can be established to deal with issues that overlap the jurisdictions of several committees or that standing committees lack the time to investigate. Joint committees are created for investigation, oversight, study, and routine activities. The chairmanship rotates each Congress or session between the House and Senate members.

Oversight

Growth in the size of Congress and its workload of course parallels growth in the number of government programs established since the Depression and World War II, and the need for Congress to monitor them. The oversight process was formalized in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which directs committees to exercise "continuous watchfulness" over agencies and programs under their jurisdiction. An **increase in Congressional oversight activity** is another important change of recent years. Effective oversight insures that Congress' policies are implemented according to intent. As Davidson and Oleszek point out, committees are not disinterested observers but frequently act as "guardians" of the agencies and programs under their jurisdiction. As staff interact with representatives of outside interest groups and agency staffs, they form "issue networks" that dominate many policymaking areas.

Congressional Staff

An expanding workload, growing demand for constituent service, increasingly complex issues, diffusion of power, multiple assignments, competition among committees and members, more hearings, longer floor sessions — all of these factors prompted an explosion in numbers of staff and a **greater reliance on staff** to process the legislative agenda. Since World War II, the number of congressional staff members has increased from about 2,000 to about 12,000. Many work in district or state offices where they concentrate on

constituent service. Committee staffs likewise grew during the 1970's. House committee staffs increased over two times in size and Senate committee staffs increased about 70 percent.

Many staff members have latitude to develop and gain support for their own policy objectives. Committee staff especially assume important, if not dominant roles because of their substantive expertise and role as policy specialists. According to Davidson and Oleszek, "Congressional staffs put their imprint on practically every measure before Congress. Their influence can be direct or indirect, substantive or procedural, visible or invisible."² Besides generating their own ideas, they can either foster or hinder ideas originating from outside sources. They play a crucial role in conducting investigations, negotiating compromises, helping to build consensus, and are active in committee and floor deliberations.

Informal Congressional Groups

Diffusion of power also has been fostered by an **increase in the number of informal groups within Congress**, formed by more activist members to deal with increasingly complex issues that frequently cut across traditional party lines. While such groups have always existed, their number and activities have increased dramatically since the 1970's to approximately 120 today. They also are distinguished from their predecessors by their diversity. Some are partisan, others bipartisan, some are bicameral. Many have paid staff, office space, dues-paying members, bylaws and elected officers. These groups serve as a forum for discussion, help mobilize support on issues, draft legislation, promote their colleagues for coveted committee assignments, or back candidates for party leadership positions. Several informal groups have joined with private institutes for the purpose of conducting research and providing analysis. Some groups, such as the House Democratic Study Group, provide campaign and fund-raising assistance for their members.³

Outside Interest Groups

Special interest groups outside Congress also have proliferated as government has expanded. Since the mid-1970's more national associations have been based in Washington (29 percent) than in New York (23 percent) or in any other city.

Probably every major trade association, professional group and major corporation has lobbyists in Washington. Collectively, they command vast resources to influence the course of legislation. While groups have influenced Congress from the beginning, the twentieth century has seen lobbying become "more varied, urbane, and publicly acceptable."⁴ Today there are over 4000 registered political action committees as compared to 600 in 1974. The expansion of government generally has reinforced the interdependence of legislators and lobbyists. As quoted in Davidson and Oleszek,

Groups turn to Congress as an institution where they can be heard, establish their positions, and achieve their policy goals. Members of Congress in turn rely on groups to provide valuable constituency, technical, or political information, to give reelection support, and to assist strategically in passing or blocking legislation that the members support or oppose. Groups need Congress, and Congress needs groups.⁵

Political Parties

The period between the Civil War and World War I witnessed an era of strong partisanship on Capitol Hill. Today's **parties are weaker but still influential**. Recently, the House has experienced rising partisanship in light of the fact that the majority and minority have not changed places in thirty-five years. Parties essentially afford the means by which the legislative branch is organized, serving as vehicles for selecting leaders, making committee assignments, scheduling floor debates, and formulating policy. The party structure includes policy committees, research committees, whip systems, and campaign committees. Approximately 250 staff aides in the Senate and 160 in the House are employed by party leaders and assorted party groups.

Over the years, the power of the party caucus has waxed and waned. Since the 1970's, the **power of the caucus generally has revived**, especially in the House. Historically it has never been as influential in the Senate where it has served more of an organizational than a legislative function. Following the revolt against Speaker Joe Cannon at the turn of the century, the caucus system was strengthened to enforce order in the House. Its dominance was gradually replaced by

the seniority system which was developed to protect members against abuses by the speaker by guaranteeing the succession of ranking majority members to committee chairmanships. The party caucus remained weakened until the Watergate era when it was revived to enhance accountability.

In the House, Democratic caucus procedures were developed in the 1970's to enhance the party's influence on substantive legislation. Although the procedures still exist, their actual use declines during times of splits over controversial ideological issues. In the Senate, the caucus performs as an informal forum for forging consensus. In both the House and Senate, the caucus remains the primary forum for working out compromises within the party prior to floor debate, fostering alliances and compromises that form the basis for policy and action.

Public Scrutiny

Because newsmaking is crucial to members of Congress, Congress has always been relatively open to journalistic coverage. The 1970's "government in the sunshine" movement **further opened Congress to public scrutiny**. Early in the century, Congress adopted a policy of holding open committee hearings on all important bills. Under House and Senate "sunshine rules," most hearings and markup meetings—committee meetings where members decide the actual language of bills—were opened to the public. Rules now require open committee sessions unless members vote to close them, and most meetings are held in open session unless national security classified information or internal committee personnel matters are scheduled for consideration.

Television coverage of committee hearings began in the late 1940's. The Senate committee hearings have always been open to coverage, but in 1952 Speaker Sam Rayburn ruled that neither committee sessions nor floor debate could be broadcast unless the House adopted a specific rule. In 1970, House committee sessions were again allowed to be broadcast. Coverage of committee hearings focuses public attention on pressing issues and provides a public forum for committee members.

The number of journalists covering Congress has grown from 171 in 1900 to approximately 4000 in the 1980's. They belong to one of several press gallery organizations that administer gallery

membership. The newspaper gallery group is the oldest, having been established in 1857 when the new House and Senate wings of the Capitol were completed. Today, outside the press galleries of each chamber are rooms assigned for newspaper, periodical, radio-TV, and photo gallery members. Studios adjacent to the chambers allow the reporters to broadcast reports. In 1978 the Senate permitted radio broadcasts of the Panama Canal treaties debate. In 1978 the House permitted broadcasting directly from the chamber's voice amplifier system and floor debate was televised in 1979. The Senate followed suit in 1986. Coverage is gavel-to-gavel.

Broadcasting floor procedures has many uses, not the least of which is the possibility of reaching 16 million potential viewers via the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN). The video tapes can be duplicated on request and used in excerpted form in network news programs. Experts agree that the rise of television has transformed the character and substance of American politics, as voters get a first-hand close-up look at their elected representatives. Television has diminished the influence of machine-style politics and party regularity and changed the definition of leadership. Successful leaders today seek publicity via involvement in more confrontational and national agenda-setting activities. Members use the media to expound ideas directly to the public and thereby pressure their fellow legislators. In the House, members make the most of two customs, one-minute speeches and special orders. The one-minute speeches at the beginning of the day have proved to be ideal vehicles for broadcasting partisan commentary. The special orders allow a representative to speak at length on a subject at the end of the day.

The Effects of Recent Changes on Congressional Documentation

The characteristics of Congress outlined above have had an equally dramatic effect on the nature and substance of contemporary congressional collections, with widespread repercussions in the archival world. Where once it was possible for a member of Congress to serve, depart, and only then designate a repository for his or her archives, it is now widely recognized that the quality and research value of a congressional collection largely depends on records management and archival

care being instituted early and on a continuing basis. Factors such as the increasing workload, larger staffs, and a growth in the overall size of the legislative branch have created voluminous archives and papers collections, and a consequent need for improved records management in all offices. Increasing decentralization, fragmentation, and openness of the legislative process means that there are many more sources documenting "legislative intent," the role and process of leadership, the process of formulating coalitions, and getting legislation passed.

As the legislative process and its documentation have become increasingly complex and fragmented, the need for an integrated, cooperative approach to selection and preservation has grown. The increase in oversight and investigative activities has created a whole new category of documentation distinguished by its volume, complexity, pervasiveness throughout all committees, and the degree to which the information sources duplicate information found elsewhere. Growing reliance on personal and committee staff to perform substantive decision making has increased the importance of staff files for overall documentation purposes. Gone are the days when central paper files in offices are the norm. Now, even within one small congressional office, documentation is apt to be scattered among several series, or exist in various computer files. Greater openness and easier access by outside interest groups, coupled with an explosion in their numbers, presumably has led to increased legislative influence on the part of such groups. It is now reasonable to assume that a comprehensive assessment of the documentation of the legislative process must take into account documentation residing outside Congress and indeed outside government. Increased access by the press and journalists and increased use of the media by Congress indicates another new area for documentary review. Finally, the changing role of parties and caucuses, and the multiplication of in-house groups have created additional documentary sources in need of evaluation.

Which of these sources are valuable, which are unique, which should be preserved in archives—these are questions that beg to be answered, and which this project report sets out to do. The discussions in the following chapters are organized

by functional themes. The themes derive from Congress' constitutional powers and functions that have evolved as it has developed and matured institutionally.

Functions of the Contemporary Congress

For the purpose of documentary analysis, congressional functions are defined as **legislative, representational, political, administrative, and external relations**. The legislative function encompasses all of the legislative responsibilities set forth in the Constitution together with those that have evolved more recently. This function includes the formulation and passage of bills that become law, including revenue bills and appropriations measures; the "executive" function of providing advise and consent on nominations and treaties; the "judicial" function of impeachment; the oversight function; the investigative function; and the budgetary function.

Representation includes activities designed to promote the views, goals and agendas of a constituency, providing constituent services, and communicating with one's constituency. Political functions are defined as establishing a leadership and an internal organization that facilitate priority setting, policy formulation, and consensus building. It includes campaigns, elections and the role of political parties. Administrative functions include the establishment of internal rules and operating procedures within each House, establishing ethical norms, establishing administrative and support offices and agencies, providing for the physical plant, and maintaining security. External relations includes a variety of activities deriving from Congress' extensive interaction with outside groups, institutions, and agencies. This function would include relations with executive and judicial branches, the media, lobbyists, and think tanks.

Each of the following chapters covers documentation of one of these broad functional areas. An in-depth look at the processes entailed by each function is followed by a description of the existing documentary sources, an analysis of their adequacy and value, and a section of recommendations to improve selection, preservation and access to these sources.

Chapter II:

Documenting the Legislative Process

Part I. The Legislative Process: A Definition

The process of enacting legislation consists of several well-defined stages that seldom occur in a well-defined or tidy manner. For complex, major legislation, the process is tortuous, breathtaking, and long. The average bill from introduction to distribution as law, passed without amendment by the House and Senate, proceeds through a minimum of forty-eight separate stages. Major legislation may take several years to enact, increasing the number of critical phases in its development many times. In fact, the more significant a bill is, and thus the more controversial and amended, the more difficult it becomes for archivists to assess how adequately it is documented. Major legislation is influenced at all critical points by a vast number of influential players both inside and outside Congress. Ironically, routine or minor legislation is frequently very well documented because much of the material relating to it is printed and available in government depository libraries. In contrast, information on major bills inevitably is scattered among several key offices within Congress, congressional support agencies, and outside the institution, in the White House, executive offices, or the offices of other key interested parties.

The following description of the legislative function is divided into six parts. Because the basic processes involved in all are similar to that of passing bills into law, for descriptive purposes, more detail will be allotted to the first section, how bills become laws. Sections on nominations and treaties, investigations, oversight, impeachment and budgetary functions do not repeat the basic procedures, but concentrate on the aspects that differ from the basic model.

Passing Bills into Laws

The legislative process is composed of seven basic stages, each being an important decision-point in formulation of the bill and therefore an important focus for archival documentation. As Abner Mikva points out in *The American Congress: The First Branch*, the progress of a piece of legislation through the seven stages is affected by shifting political forces, which are in themselves another documentary aspect to be considered. Long after a measure is enacted, the electoral process continues to affect the extent to which it is enforced, the interpretation given by judges, the level of funding by Congress, and the amount of attention it receives in the oversight process. In other words, the legislative "cycle" really never ends.

Introducing Measures

The first stage is introduction of a bill. Bills or resolutions are "introduced" by members of the House or Senate when the respective body is in session. Thousands are introduced each year, but only a few become law. (The statistics for each Congress may be found in the final Daily Digest section of the *Congressional Record* for that Congress.) Bills can be prepared by expert drafters employed either in the House or Senate Office of Legislative Counsel, in committees (original reported bills), the executive branch, or the private sector. Text can be handwritten by a member on the spur of the moment. (Very few members draft entire bills, instead, they may add key clauses which are then "polished" by legislative counsel.) Wherever the concept for the bill is initiated, the introduction of the bill ("placing it in the hopper") may only be done by a member of Congress.

The substance of legislation can be generated by the member who introduces it, by the

member's staff, by committee staff, or interested outside experts. Constituents have the right to petition Congress "for a redress of grievances" under the First Amendment to the Constitution. Special-interest groups are another important source generating legislation, as they can be well informed about problems and needs for remedial measures. Public-interest groups such as the Brookings Institution, Common Cause, the Heritage Foundation, Congress Watch, the American Civil Liberties Union, and various environmental groups lobby for and promote legislative reforms. Business is a powerful source of legislation wielding great financial clout through political action committees (PACs). Other sources of legislation include labor unions, organizations of state and local officials, and professional associations.

Another major source for initiating legislation constitutes the administration and executive branch agencies. The president frequently sends legislative "packages" to Congress. These are usually preceded by a presidential message, explaining the need for the legislation. Presidents are powerful lobbyists because of their access to the media and their mandate from the voters. They also possess a variety of inducements and obstructions that they can dispense or withhold. Other events prompting legislation are crises and disasters. Bills also are introduced to provide individuals with private relief or to benefit local industry and particular constituents.

Part of the job of introducing legislation involves seeking publicity to educate and inform people about the issue and to generate support. Techniques used include press conferences, press releases, appearances on televised news programs, floor speeches or statements, and "Dear Colleague" letters announcing the bill and inviting cosponsorship. There is also a need to organize interest-group support for or opposition to a measure.

Committee Action

Once the bill is introduced, the next stage is referral to the appropriate committee and subcommittee. All legislation, and in the Senate all executive nominations and treaties are referred to committees, which may either kill measures through inaction or report them out. The parliamentarian in the Senate, on behalf of the presiding officer, determines the committee of jurisdiction

based on the predominant subject matter of a measure. In the House, the Speaker has the authority to refer measures, with the advice of the parliamentarian. Bills can be referred to more than one committee. In the House, referral to a subcommittee is sometimes determined prior to a bill's introduction, reflecting the stronger role of subcommittees in that body. Committee jurisdiction is significant because the chances of a measure being successfully reported hinges on the "friendliness" of the committee with primary jurisdiction. In the Senate, the committee chair may decide to retain the bill at full committee for review or to refer the measure to a subcommittee. During subcommittee consideration, hearings can be held or special surveys and studies undertaken. The bill will then be "marked up" and reported to the full committee where additional hearings might be held. In instances where the bill remains at the full committee, the committee performs the review and holds hearings. Extensive analysis and public hearings would be the norm for major legislation.

Hearings are carefully planned with witnesses being selected to support or critique the issue under consideration. In the Senate witnesses are required to submit their testimony one day in advance so that committee members will know their point of view prior to the actual hearing and prepare appropriate questions. Transcripts of the proceedings may be edited and published when the hearings are open. (Routine hearings probably would not be published.) Transcripts of closed hearings are retained by the committee. Committees and subcommittees can subpoena witnesses and documents if necessary, for example, during the course of investigatory oversight hearings aimed at exposing wrongdoing.

The full committee considers the measure at a final "markup" or business meeting and votes to order it reported, either favorably or unfavorably, or to table further consideration, thus killing the bill. Markups are usually carefully orchestrated by the chair with a view to processing the legislation as rapidly as possible and to keep amendments to a minimum. Since the 1970's, most markups are held in open session. If a measure is not controversial, it can by unanimous consent of the committee members be "polled out," that is, reported out by written or telephone ballot, or by proxy.

A committee report is prepared to accompany the printed version of the reported measure. It can be prepared by the subcommittee and adopted by the committee or it can be drafted by the full committee staff. Sometimes the report is drafted or partially drafted by lobbyists or the administration. Reports generally reflect the views of a bill's supporters. Courts generally rely on reports to discern the intent of Congress, but reports sometimes contain conflicting and vague statements as the writers insert language proposed by various special interest groups. The full record of the controversy attending certain legislation is more likely to be found in the transcripts of the markups and in the record of floor debates in the *Congressional Record*. Reports also contain useful sections representing minority views.

In the House, legislation reported out of a standing committee is forwarded to the Rules Committee, which is empowered to "rule" on a bill by setting the conditions under which it will be considered. These include determining the admissibility of amendments and the terms of debate. The resolution proposing the rule is debatable in the House, but seldom is defeated. Following approval of the rule resolution, the bill managers move to go into the Committee of the Whole (a procedure described under Floor Action below) for purposes of debate. In the Senate, the majority and minority leaders negotiate the procedures for passage, which usually are then approved by unanimous consent.

Floor Actions

Floor action in the Senate consists of scheduling, debating, and voting. Noncontroversial legislation can be scheduled for consideration by unanimous consent. Other legislation will be scheduled under terms that allow for amendments and extensive debate. The terms of such agreements can be detailed and complex, describing each amendment, the time allotted for discussion, and the time to be given to the entire piece of legislation. After an amendment has been debated, a roll-call vote is taken unless unanimous consent provides for a voice vote. Among a number of floor strategies employed to delay or kill legislation, the most famous is the filibuster. Any senator can use this technique of extended debate

until at least three-fifths of the Senate votes to limit debate by agreeing to a cloture motion. Filibusters can commence at various points and can be used to block bills, amendments, conference reports, and nominations. Party floor activities include negotiating the terms of debate for each measure, protecting the rights of each party member during the course of debate, and providing procedural advice and guidance as to the need for a party vote on an issue.

Floor action in the House consists of four available procedures. (1) Most bills are reviewed by the Rules Committee; those it reports out receive a rule setting the terms of floor debate. (2) Noncontroversial and private relief bills can be placed on the unanimous consent or private relief calendars respectively. Official "objectors" are appointed at the beginning of each Congress to guard the calendars for each party. (3) The suspension calendar is used by the Speaker to speed legislation by permitting the House, by a two-thirds vote, to suspend regular procedural rules. A bill on the suspension calendar bypasses the Rules Committee. (4) "Privileged" legislation, primarily "power of the purse" bills, bypasses the Rules Committee and, frequently, also the Committee of the Whole procedure under which legislation is debated by the House acting as the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. This parliamentary device for debate allows for a quorum of only 100 members (instead of 218) and operates under different rules. When the Committee of the Whole "rises," it reports back to the full House, which proceeds to act on the legislation. As in the Senate, a variety of delaying tactics are available to members in the opposition, but in the House, unlike the Senate, a vote cannot be delayed indefinitely.

The record of floor debate is published in the *Congressional Record*, which, however, is edited prior to publication and includes statements not read in their entirety on the floor. The proceedings of both houses also are videotaped and broadcast on cable television. The videotapes are preserved in the National Archives and the Library of Congress where they are available for public research under the rules of the house in which they were created.

Consideration by the Other House

Legislation that is passed by one body becomes an engrossed measure and is sent to the other body, where it proceeds through an equal consideration process.

Amendments

Amendments to bills and resolutions may be proposed during review by the committee or by members while the measures are in committee, on the Calendar, or pending before the Senate or House. Measures amended in committee are reported with amendments included. (Committees can report a clean bill, as well.) Amendments are numbered in the order in which they are submitted and are printed in the *Congressional Record*. They have no standing until they are called up for consideration.

Conference Committee Action

If the House- and Senate-passed versions are different and the differences cannot be resolved through various informal mechanisms, a conference committee may be requested by the chamber in possession of the legislative papers. About 10 percent of legislation enacted into law, especially appropriations measures, requires a conference. Each house appoints conferees, who meet to consider matters in disagreement and produce a report. Frequently staff can play a major role in working out a compromise. Lobbyists and special interest groups also remain very active during this stage as they work to ensure that their interests are retained. The administration also plays a major role, threatening to veto the legislation if objectionable amendments are retained, building public support for its point of view, or bargaining with the members to win passage.

Enrollment of Bills and Delivery to the President

If and when both houses agree to the conference report and pass identical versions, the measure becomes an enrolled act or resolution and is delivered, by the house that originally reported the measure, to the President for signature or veto.

If neither occurs within ten days, the measure becomes law without the president's signature, or if Congress adjourns sine die, the measure dies by "pocket veto."

Nominations and Treaties

Executive nominations and treaties are transferred to the Senate for advice and consent. The Executive Clerk assigns a message number and refers a nomination to the appropriate committee, where it is considered, voted upon, and reported either favorably, unfavorably, or without recommendation; or in the case of a tie vote, the nomination dies in committee. For significant appointments hearings are held. Once reported, the nomination is considered and either confirmed or voted down by the Senate. If it is confirmed, a Resolution of Confirmation is prepared and transmitted to the president for signature. If the nomination is voted down, a Resolution of Disapproval is prepared and transmitted. The president may also withdraw a nomination.

Treaties submitted by the president go through a similar process. Following receipt by the Senate, they are referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and occasionally to other committees if the subject matter warrants. The Foreign Relations Committee studies the treaty, holds hearings and either votes to report or not report a Resolution of Ratification, or takes no action. A treaty remaining in committee qualifies for future action indefinitely. If the committee orders a resolution to be reported, the Senate considers the treaty and the report; it may amend the treaty, adopt reservations and understandings, or vote it down. A two-thirds majority of the Senate is required to approve a treaty. If the treaty and Resolution of Ratification are approved, the resolution is transferred to the president who then signs the instrument of ratification. If the treaty is not approved, a resolution indicating the failure of a vote necessary for ratification is transmitted to the president. Treaties also can be withdrawn by the president.

Committee Functions in Detail

The preceding discussion covers the overall functions of Congress in the formulation and passage of legislation and the review and disposition of treaties and nominations. Committees play a central role in the process. Within committees,

responsibilities include establishing priorities for the year and Congress; reviewing legislation, nominations, and treaties; conducting hearings; providing for final consideration and committee markup by the members; reporting the measure; participating in consensus building and negotiating during floor consideration and debate; and participating in conference committee work.

Committee Oversight

Another important function performed by committees is congressional oversight. Committees are authorized to review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws or parts of laws, the subject matter of which falls within their legislative jurisdiction. To accomplish this, committees analyze, appraise, and evaluate either by themselves, by contract, or through the appropriate executive agency, which then reports back to the committee. Committees employ various oversight techniques, such as pilot programs, cost benefit analysis, surveys, and requesting special studies. Congressional support agencies are frequently enlisted to perform in-depth research on particularly complex or highly technical issues.

Oversight can be either legislative or investigative. The former involves examination of programs and agencies for the purpose of deciding whether either new legislation or a modification of existing legislation is needed. Investigative oversight is more exploratory, with a view toward uncovering incompetence or wrongdoing in the administration of public policy. Staff involved with legislative oversight will accumulate quantities of correspondence with agency officials and reports on agency programs. Those involved with investigations designed to expose and publicize problems will accumulate great amounts of original documents or copies of such documents, some of which will have been obtained through subpoenas, depositions, and investigative reports. Generally, oversight and investigations involve such functions as establishing priorities by deciding which issue to pursue, conducting the research and analyzing the evidence, possibly holding hearings, final consideration by the members, reporting the results, and perhaps drafting new legislation.

Another form of oversight is impeachment. Congress, under the Constitution, can remove

federal officials for “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.” This power is seldom used, but ever-present. The House has authority to impeach an official, after which it tries the case before the Senate. Special panels or committees are formed in the Senate to review articles of impeachment as passed by the House, sometimes holding hearings, and to report them to the Senate for final action. A two-thirds vote in the Senate is required for conviction.

The Budget Process

Congress’ power of the purse is crucial to its lawmaking and oversight responsibilities. The centralized congressional budget process was established in 1974 by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act (P L 93–344, 88 Stat. 297). The Act provided Congress with a mechanism to gain control over and bring coherence to the budgetary process and thus allow it to determine the appropriate level of federal revenues and expenditures for each fiscal year. The Act also established a congressional system of control over presidential impoundments and facilitates establishment of national budget priorities.

The principal function of the House and Senate Budget committees is to review the president’s annual budget, the Congressional Budget Office report on the budget, and the Views and Estimates reports detailing authorizations by committees and to report out a concurrent resolution on the budget. In order to do this, hearings are held and a report is produced. The concurrent resolution is composed of two basic parts: budget totals and spending broken down by function. It establishes appropriate levels for the new fiscal year and planning levels for the two ensuing fiscal years including: totals of new budget authority, outlays, loan obligations, and loan guarantee commitments; total federal revenues; and surplus or deficit in the budget.

By breaking federal spending down by function, Congress is able to allocate resources among broad categories. Recent budget resolutions also have included provisions setting a date by which committees must report legislation that decreases spending or increases revenues by a specified amount. This committee-reported legislation is packaged together and considered by Congress as a single reconciliation bill.

After each House passes its respective version of the budget resolution, a conference committee is established to resolve the differences. The compromise version is scheduled to be voted on by May 15 of each year to allow time for the appropriations bills to be reported and passed before the beginning of the new fiscal year on October 1. The budget resolution is a concurrent resolution as it is designed to guide the work of both houses on the budget. Once the budget plan is adopted, the overall totals and reconciliation instructions become binding on the fiscal legislation of each congressional committee. The resolution sets spending ceilings and revenue levels, and the Appropriations and revenue committees are under extreme pressure to adhere to them. Since 1980, this reconciliation process takes place with the first budget resolution rather than with a second resolution in September that largely has been dispensed with due to lack of time.

Originally conceived as a minor procedure "to reconcile" pending fiscal measures with the first budget resolution, reconciliation has become a major component of the first budget resolution, chiefly because it provides a mechanism for reducing spending in entitlement programs. Committees can be instructed in the reconciliation language to achieve savings in such programs by changing existing laws. Thus, the process has shifted from one in which information provided by the Budget committees was supposed to control spending levels to one in which central direction in the form of reconciliation instructions controls the fiscal activities of committees and subcommittees. Although the Budget committees do not have authority to initiate legislation, their influence can lead to alterations in the size and substance of programs, as committees are pressured to cut back on their favorite programs or to shift funding from one program to another.

The budget schedule and deadlines eliminate the danger of a senatorial filibuster and the possibility of adding nongermane amendments, thus streamlining the entire process. It is one example of a legislative procedure that has become more centralized over time. Following adoption of the budget plan, specific spending and revenue bills are reported and processed according to normal legislative procedure. The provisions of the budget resolution become automatically binding on October 1, the start of the fiscal year. Once the totals become binding, any member may object to consideration of any bill which would breach them. If a measure is objected to, it cannot be considered, unless a waiver of budgetary rules is granted. The Budget Committees continue to review all congressional actions affecting the budget and report any deviations.

The budget committees also process proposals by the president to rescind or defer spending of funds. When the president proposes to defer or cancel an amount of budget authority altogether, he must notify Congress. A deferral stands unless Congress passes a law disapproving it. A rescission does not occur unless Congress passes a law approving the cancellation.

Despite increased budgetary coordination and growing sophistication about fiscal decision making, the budget process represents a particularly time-consuming congressional activity. Budget resolutions, authorizations, appropriations, tax bills, reconciliation measures, supplemental appropriations, and legislation raising the national debt limit seem to dominate Congress' agenda. During times of high budget deficits and the need for fiscal restraint, the influence of the budget process extends into all types of government programs as Congress establishes its funding priorities amid a world of competing interests.

Part II. The Legislative Process: Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Introducing Measures

Archival documentation resides in several places, most prominently in a member's office files and in congressional committee files. Depending on where a bill was originally developed, additional material could be found in congressional support agency records, in executive agency or White House files, or in the archives of special-interest groups, businesses, professional and labor associations, or public policy groups.

Because part of the job of introducing legislation involves seeking publicity to inform people and generate support, documentation also is found in journalistic and news sources. Some of these exist within Congress (in members' papers, committee records, and documentation of floor proceedings and debate) and some are outside Congress (national news shows and accounts in journals and newsletters.)

Since it can take six to eight years or more to pass major legislation (e.g., civil rights, clean air, crime bills), documentary information is likely to reside in sources from several congresses. Substantive information will be found in earlier bill files, hearing records, markup transcripts, and committee reports.

Members' office files are rich sources of information on the background of actions leading up to the introduction of a bill. In particular, legislative assistants' (LA) files of correspondence, research material, briefing memos, and position papers document early contact with constituents or interested parties, the work done to define the problem, political strategies and maneuvers, and options for possible legislative solutions. Liaison work with other congressional offices is also documented in LA files. Such materials shed light on the circumstances in which legislation first arose and show whether the member's activity was reactive or pro-active. LA

files generally possess an abundance of information about the generation of issues that may or may not result in legislative action. They best answer the question, "How and why did interest develop in a particular area?"

Much the same can be said of committee professional staff files, since committee staff with particular subject and issue area expertise frequently initiate legislative actions via the committee members. Committee counsel files include correspondence with interested parties or agency officials, position and strategy papers, and options for possible legislative solutions. "Dear Colleague" letters, letters from one member to others seeking support for positions or measures, can be found in either committee or members' office legislative staff files. Committee files contain much additional documentation reflecting the committee function of reviewing referred measures. This subject is covered in the following section, "Committee Action."

Records of presidential libraries, executive departments and agencies, congressional support agencies (especially GAO), and archives of interest groups, associations, corporations, state and local agencies, and think tanks also contain documentation on the background and early development of legislative proposals, together with efforts to publicize an issue and gain support. Documentation in presidential libraries will be discussed in depth in the External Relations chapter. GAO documentation is covered in the Administration chapter. Think tanks are covered in the External Relations chapter. Communications from these sources sometimes can be found in legislative and administrative staff files. More frequently they reside in committee and leadership staff files, especially of the party in the White House. Leadership office files are discussed in depth in the Political chapter.

It is important to know that Congress publishes much primary source information that is vital to most research projects. These published sources

are normally consulted prior to using the archival records. Such sources include the House and Senate *Journals*, the House *Calendar*, the *Congressional Record*, committee hearings, and committee reports. Two general reference works that provide details about congressional publications are: Joe Morehead, *Introduction to United States Public Documents*. 3d ed. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1983 and Jerrold Zwirn, *Congressional Publications: A Research Guide to Legislation, Budgets, and Treaties*, 2nd ed. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1988. In addition, Carol Davis's *How to Follow Current Federal Legislation and Regulations*, Report 91-66C, Washington, D.C., Congressional Research Service, 1991, is a useful guide to the "essential and useful publications," including computer data bases, that provide information or specific facts on federal legislative and regulatory activities.

An extended essay titled, "An Introduction to Research in the Records of Congress," appears in both the *Guide to the Records of the United States Senate at the National Archives, 1789 - 1989, Bicentennial Edition* and the *Guide to the Records of the House of Representatives at the National Archives, 1789-1989, Bicentennial Edition*, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1989. This essay contains information about the published documents of Congress, including their scope, content, and availability. Richard Hunt of the National Archives Center for Legislative Records has compiled a list of general published finding aids that indicates the relative usefulness of each source for performing legislative research. The list is reproduced in Appendix A.

Committee Action: Legislative

Documentation of committee action on measures resides almost exclusively in committee records. Generally, it is not well represented in members' own papers. Exceptions occur when staff who serve for long periods of time transfer back and forth from a committee to a member's staff, taking committee records with them. Such materials can also find their way into members' papers when committee staff members do not adhere to standing rules and, instead of keeping records with a committee, transfer them to the member's private custody. As with the previous activity, "introducing measures," significant documentation can be found in records of the con-

gressional support agencies, executive agencies, the White House, and outside interest groups, reflecting the level of interest and roles shared by these parties.

Committee legislative activities include review and analysis of legislation, holding hearings on important measures, working out final recommendations in markup or business meetings, preparing a report, and participating in conference committee actions. For complex legislation, a great deal of communication with outside groups is necessary. Committees can contract for special studies, request special studies by the General Accounting Office or the Office of Technology Assessment, request special studies by agencies, design and perform their own surveys, or hire someone else to conduct a survey. Specialized staff may be brought in for certain assignments. Lobbyists also communicate their views as committees work on language and strategy.

The most important types of committee records that document review and reporting of legislation include committee reports, minutes of business meetings and markups; staff analytical memoranda and working papers retained by chief counsel, staff director, and professional staff members; hearing transcripts and televised coverage; chronological or reading files; communications with congressional leadership and committee members; communications with executive agency staff and interested parties; special support or consultant studies (including studies conducted by the Congressional Research Service which are not generally available elsewhere); briefing materials; "committee prints" (limited printed versions of reports or draft measures); substantive preliminary drafts of legislation (circulated drafts, frequently numbered); electronic records, documentation and indexes; audiovisual materials; press releases; and records of roll-call votes.

Committee Action: Nominations and Treaties

Documentary sources within Congress on review of nominations and treaties are found in several places, most importantly in Senate committees. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reviews treaties submitted by the president, holds hearings, and either votes a resolution of ratification, decides not to report the treaty, or takes no action. Presidential nominations are referred to

appropriate committees for review and recommendation to the Senate.

Committee records include analytical staff memos; communications with Senate leadership and committee members; hearing transcripts; briefing materials; nominees' biographical and financial data files, reporting forms, and questionnaires; executive reports; and records of roll-call votes.

Leadership office files contain a substantial amount of material pertaining to nominations, including correspondence with the White House, analytical staff memos, and strategy papers.

Members' papers also contain documentation on nominations, especially those for judgeships. Members are often asked to endorse candidates from their state, and issue mail can accumulate from controversial federal nominations. Generally, very little regarding treaties is found in members' papers, with the exception of controversial treaties like SALT II and the Panama Canal treaties. Any such information would normally reside among the files of the legislative assistant who handled that issue area.

Committee Action: Oversight/Investigations/Impeachment

Documentation of the committee oversight function is found almost exclusively in committee records and in the records of congressional support agencies. (The latter are discussed in the chapter on Administration and Support.) Copies of publications and communications from a committee's chief counsel may exist in members' files, but the most complete record of committee activity resides with the committee. Activities include review and analysis of government programs and projects, holding hearings, development of recommendations including legislation, and preparation of reports. For complex investigations, special investigative staff may be employed and voluminous records accumulated. Impeachment investigations and hearings also are conducted by committees. The records include quantities of evidentiary materials, including subpoenaed documents and depositions. Besides publishing the hearings, many committees videotape significant hearings. For example the Iran-Contra committee created a video record as well as a published hearing record.

The Budget Process

The Budget Committees are the main sources for documenting the budget process within Congress. Standing committees create reports which are submitted to the Budget committees, and they maintain budget resolution files. The records of the Budget Committees are the most complete in terms of documenting the history and development of the process and in documenting the drafting and adoption of the budget resolution. Other significant sources of information reside in presidential records, agency records, particularly the records of the Office of Management and Budget (formerly the Bureau of the Budget), and the records of the Congressional Budget Office. (These records are covered elsewhere in this report.)

Publicizing Legislation

Documentation of this activity is covered in the chapter on External Relations, Congress and the Media.

Debates and Floor Proceedings

Documentation of floor proceedings is contained in the *Congressional Record*, which is produced by GPO and distributed to the government depository libraries. Information about using the *Record* and its predecessors as a resource is detailed in the House and Senate *Guides to Holdings* at the National Archives. Floor proceedings are also videotaped and broadcast. The tapes are transferred to the National Archives and the Library of Congress, where they are available for research (the House tapes since 1983; the Senate tapes since 1986). What is not documented is last-minute behind-the-scenes bargaining in the cloak-rooms or contacts with lobbyists.

Conference Committee Action

Sources include briefing books prepared for members, a report that is published in the *Record*, and background materials such as side-by-side analyses, memos, and position papers filed in leadership offices or committees.

B. Status of Documentation

Availability of Information Management Guidelines

Published guidelines exist for congressional documentation of the legislative process. They include the *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories* (1991) and the *Records Management Handbook for United States Senate Committees* (1988). A pamphlet summarizing essential points of the *Handbook* is distributed to committee staff. House committee guidelines are set forth in *Guidelines for Standing and Select Committees in the Preparation, Filing, Archiving and Disposal of Committee Records*, (1990), Committee on House Administration, Committee Print. Additional guidelines for members' papers are available in *A Guide for the Creation, Organization and Maintenance of Records in Congressional Offices* (revised 1989) by the Library of Congress, Central Services Division. In addition, the *Congressional Handbook* published for each house has information on filing and records management.

There are no special guidelines for congressional joint committees, although existing House or Senate guidelines could be applied. Transfers of records from joint committees are sporadic and not well coordinated.

In the Senate, records management seminars are offered periodically. These are sponsored by the secretary of the Senate and the sergeant at arms. In the House, the Congressional Management Foundation and the clerk of the House sponsor records management and disposition seminars. At the beginning of the 101st Congress, a records management seminar was offered for the first time to personal staff of *new* members of the Senate. This approach was extremely effective and has been continued.

Status of Implementation of Guidelines

There is general recognition that implementation of published guidelines regarding both the introduction of a bill and the subsequent stages of the legislative process varies widely from office to office and committee to committee. Both repositories and the Center for Legislative Archives report

that there are evident gaps in the documentary record because congressional staff files are not always transferred with related archival materials, or information is not recorded in the first place when business is conducted face to face and over the telephone.

It is widely recognized that staff files contain a wealth of information. Sometimes they are the major source of members' handwritten comments on various proposals and options presented by staff, because these memos are often returned to staff for action, rather than ending up in the member's own files. For significant issues, such memos often contain summaries of the public's reaction. It is not known whether the publication and distribution of guidelines have led to substantial improvement in the retention of staff files. The newly established Senate offices, however, seem to have started out on the right foot in this regard, although they may not all continue as conscientiously after staff turnover. In general, staff members who serve for a long time seem to develop better files and a keener regard for their worth. Unfortunately, however, such staff members sometimes come to consider their files as their own, to be taken with them when they depart. The frequency of staff turnover in the House and Senate contributes to uneven records retention policies over time.

Las and committee counsels conduct a great deal of their work on the phone or at meetings with other staff and outside groups. While minutes or memos of such meetings are not always carefully kept, if an issue is important or of great interest to the member, the staff person will prepare a memo that summarizes the discussion. Some offices prepare weekly memos summarizing current issues of importance.

All offices maintain clippings files. These frequently present problems when they are loosely organized around general issues, are bulky, and need preservation. Clippings files that are devoted to legislation are more useful to an office, because they focus directly on legislative accomplishments. Future records management guidelines should encourage organizing clipping files in this way.

Members' press officer files frequently contain information on the introduction of measures. Newsletters, speeches, and statements can contain information on this and other stages of legislation. These records usually are relatively well managed

as there is a need for such material during reelection campaigns. Management problems for these files fall generally into two categories: lack of sufficient identification on audiovisual files maintained by press officers and preservation problems resulting from improper storage of fragile media. Indexing of these materials can also be insufficient.

Documenting "What A Member Actually Does"

Record keeping in the majority of congressional offices is designed to facilitate handling of current issues and future crises, rather than to keep a full historical record. Still less attention is devoted to keeping a record of "what the member actually does." Consequently, the vast bulk of material in a congressional collection documents what the staff does. Material documenting the introduction of legislation and its subsequent course principally reveals the role of staff in the legislative process. Information about the member's direct involvement is much more elusive.

Committee Action: Legislation

Adherence to guidelines varies among Senate committees, but most committees have implemented them to some degree. The problem of staff files not being universally collected or integrated into central committee files persists. Staff sometimes do not adhere to standing rules, as well as separate committee rules, and either transfer records to a member's private custody, take such files when they depart the Senate or House, or destroy them to prevent any future access to "confidential" material. The records of staff directors and general counsels are difficult to collect because some individuals in these positions regard their roles as "political" and therefore not subject to retention according to Senate rules for committees.

Offices that do not have strict records management requirements in place run the risk that material left by departing staff on computer systems may subsequently be deleted without regard to whether it should be saved for documentation purposes. Significant losses could result, since committees make wide use of computers to prepare drafts of measures and reports. In addition,

it has been observed that many staff members do not take the time to print out and file hard copies of correspondence and memos they wish to retain, simply leaving this material on the system. Widespread use of diskettes and off-the-shelf software allows staff easily to take material with them when they leave a committee. In fact, the use of personal computers has made it much easier for committee staff to sidestep standing rules concerning records retention.

Despite this potential problem, committee staff still print out a large amount of material because of the need to circulate information within the Senate and to outside parties in hard copy. Because computer systems do not yet permit easy transmission of documents among all congressional offices, most members still retain a need to consult paper copies of documents and memos.

Committee Action: Nominations and Treaties

In the Senate, documentation in these areas appears fairly consistent among committee staff. Because committee staff need to access older information regarding nominations and treaties more frequently than is the case with legislative files, staff generally file the nominations and treaty information more systematically.

It would be interesting to compare the scope and content of the records of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees at the National Archives to ascertain whether there are substantial differences between the information retained in the oversight and legislative files of the two committees. The Senate Foreign Relations records are generally limited in content, and they lack substantive background information.

Committee files on nominations and treaties supplement the published sources. While the hearings and reports provide information on public opinion (hearings) and the final decision of the committee (reports), the archival files contain a wealth of background information not available in the published sources. For controversial nominees, for example, staff normally compile extensive reference files about the individual, in which information from far-flung sources is brought together, arranged, and evaluated.

Committee Action: Investigations

Investigations are generally very well documented and represent one of the most complete types of congressional archival source. This is especially true for high-profile investigations where committees are attempting to expose and publicize wrongdoing. Less well documented is the philosophy and process of oversight as a committee function or the reasons why a certain subject is not investigated (e.g., the savings and loan situation).

Since the roles of congressional support agencies can be extremely important in this area, it is essential for the House and Senate to develop coordinated records preservation programs with these agencies. An evaluation of the role of investigative journalism in triggering or supporting congressional investigations would be useful for archival institutions wishing to document this role. Impeachment committee materials are very complete, to the point that both substance and process are well documented.

The Budget Process

Both the House and Senate Budget committees send their records to the archives, although the quality and thoroughness of such transfers has not been ascertained. Because the Congressional Budget Office has not established a formal records disposition program, it is not possible to thoroughly evaluate the completeness of existing documentation for the budget process.

Debates and Floor Proceedings

The official published records of floor proceedings are complete and widely available.

Leadership offices also contain information relating to floor proceedings, including memos, position notes, and vote tallies. Policy and Steering committees are also involved with floor activities, devising strategies and position papers. Because these records have never been administered as part of official House or Senate records, they are not necessarily well managed or preserved. A major effort needs to be made to devise a thoughtful strategy for preserving these materials, which are sometimes lost or destroyed. Further discussion of this topic can be found in the chapter on documenting political activities.

Conference Committee Action

Committee records management guidelines cover disposition of conference committee materials, which sometimes, but not uniformly, are found with related bill file materials. Because of their sometimes ephemeral nature (hurriedly scratched notes and messages), these materials are difficult to pull together in any meaningful way, although some committees are successful in this regard.

What is not documented is the behind-the-scenes bargaining among congressional staff, members of Congress, and lobbyists. Bargaining between the members and the president is better documented than other aspects. (See chapter on External Relations, section on the Executive and Congress.)

C. Recommended Actions

1. Records Management Guidelines.

Projects to improve implementation:

Senate. Produce an easy-to-read pamphlet for members' staff. This booklet would be designed for use by all members' staff, while the *Handbook* is intended for use by the office manager and administrative assistant. Continue committee chief clerks' tour of Legislative Archives once per Congress. Continue once-per-Congress meetings between House and Senate archival staff, committee chief clerks, and the director of Legislative Archives for the purpose of reviewing the status of recent records transfers and ascertaining committee needs.

House. For members' offices, either produce a handbook and pamphlet or upgrade the Library of Congress handbook. Produce a pamphlet to accompany the committee records handbook. Establish a position of professional archivist to oversee committee records disposition and to serve as a consultant to members in matters of records management and disposition.

Both. Improve communication about the importance of records and their preservation. This can come from inside and outside Congress, from appropriate congressional staff and from congressional archivists in home state repositories. Evaluate other possible initiatives such as providing archival services in addition to the distribution of guidelines, designating specific funds for archival management, or establishing archival fellowships

whereby archivists would either be paid to work as archivists for members or would be able to receive academic credits in exchange for providing such services. Conduct a survey of all members to ascertain which and how many have designated repositories to receive their papers. The results of such a survey would produce useful information for the archival programs of each house, and would encourage members to designate a repository earlier rather than later in their congressional careers.

2. Joint Committees. Produce records management guidelines for joint committees (none currently exist) and devise a procedure to transfer their records to the archives on a routine basis.

3. Offices of Legislative Counsel in House and Senate. Solicit records from these offices as they are not now routinely sent to the Archives and would contain important documentation on how bills are drafted.

4. Documenting members' activities. Evaluate ways to improve documentation of members' actual involvement in the legislative process. Survey known examples of effective documentation in congressional or related (presidential, for example) collections for ideas that might be implemented by congressional offices interested in improving documentation of the member's day-to-day activities. Convey these ideas to congressional staff through seminars and a special pamphlet.

5. Records management publicity/communications. Continue to hold committee chief clerks' tour of the Archives once per Congress. Continue joint meetings once per Congress between House, Senate, and Archives staff and committee chief clerks. The Center for Legislative Archives should continue to prepare records accession charts showing recent transfers by series in order to identify significant gaps in holdings. Continue the House and Senate practice of holding records disposition seminars for committee staff at the end of each Congress. These seminars should stress disposition of textual and electronic records.

6. Coordination with Members' Archival Repositories. Appropriate staff in the House and Senate should work with staff of members' designated archives to ensure preservation of the documentary record. All should cooperate in promulgation of each house's rules and require-

ments. All members' deeds of gift, beginning now, should include a phrase specifying that committee records belong to the respective body. This would support the preservation and retention of records that belong to each body and would help to counter any tendency by individual committee staff to send committee records to members' repositories.

7. Inter-institutional archival descriptive project. Study the feasibility of a national congressional data-base project. Such a project could be designed to facilitate sharing information about holdings, appraisal decisions, and reference services. A number of structures are already in place, and the National Archives is creating a computer-based finding aid for its holdings. The next step would be to determine the feasibility of creating one data base that would link descriptions of congressional holdings in private archives with the archives of each house that are at the National Archives.

8. Collections development policy statement. Develop a model statement for institutions interested in specializing in congressional/political research. It should be designed for use by repositories across the country that wish to develop their collections in the congressional/legislative/political area. The statement should outline a comprehensive policy aimed at acquiring research collections that supplement each other and should help create an integrated meaningful body of primary source information about Congress. Such a statement would assist states in developing statewide cooperative collecting strategies.

9. Nominations. Compare the holdings of various committees related to nominations. While such information appears to be fairly consistent among the files that are transferred to the Archives, a survey of series holdings of different committees would be helpful in identifying any potential gaps in information.

10. House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. Compare the holdings of the two committees at the Archives to ascertain whether there are substantial differences between the information retained in their oversight and legislative files.

11. Special investigating committees.

a) Consider adding records management and disposition language to legislation that establishes

special investigating committees. Stating in the beginning what the disposition of the investigative records will be when the investigation concludes would reinforce the authority of each house to retain the archival records of the investigation.

b) Appropriate staff in each house should continue to monitor such investigations to ensure that any special staff receive record-keeping guidelines in a timely fashion. Consider preparation of a pamphlet for special counsels that provides information about records retention requirements.

c) Oral history and investigations. Overall documentation could be enhanced through a systematic oral history program for selected investigations of great importance. Special staff are frequently hired for these investigations, who leave Congress once the investigation is over. "Exit interviews" with selected staff would contribute greatly to the permanent record of the investigation and the history of each house.

12. Administration of the records of congressional support agencies at the National Archives. The records of all congressional support agencies should be brought under the administrative control of the Center for Legislative Archives. Further discussion of support agency records is found in the chapter on Administration and Support.

13. Congressional support agencies. Establish a formal process within the House and Senate (perhaps a review committee comprised of historians, archivists, relevant committee staff) to ensure that the interests of both bodies are represented in the creation of records disposition schedules for the congressional support agencies.

14. Investigative journalism. Evaluate the role of investigative journalism in congressional oversight. Survey sources of documentation to determine whether records are created and collected. Develop a position paper.

15. Budget committees. Compare the holdings of the House and Senate Budget Committees at the National Archives, in order to further appraise

this material and compare it with information from CBO.

16. Congressional Budget Office. Establish a records program at CBO. Archival records of CBO should be under the administration of the Center for Legislative Archives. Coordinate retention guidelines with the House and Senate via a formal mechanism, as discussed above for congressional support agencies.

17. Leadership offices.

a) Compile records disposition guidelines especially for leadership offices, perhaps in the form of a special pamphlet.

b) Offer such offices direct archival assistance, if needed. While the records of leadership offices are considered to be personal records of the individual member, their importance in documenting the history of each house is such that special efforts should be made to preserve historically valuable files. This goal could be achieved either through direct assistance by appropriate staff in the House and Senate or by coordinating activities with staff from the member's designated archival repository.

18. Oral histories. Consider a major funded project to carry out oral histories with congressional leaders. Perhaps one of the emerging "congressional centers" might wish to undertake or coordinate such a project. Grant money could be a possible source of funding.

a) Integrate bibliographic information about existing oral histories into a proposed congressional archival data base.

b) Oral histories might be a better way to document conference committees of special significance than are the textual records. Conference committees represent a critical stage in the legislative process that is among the least well documented. (If proceedings at such meetings were tape recorded, they would clearly be a fascinating source.)

Chapter III: Documenting Representation

Part I. Representation: A Definition

Representation is defined as promoting the views, goals, and agendas of one's constituency. This activity includes voting according to one's constituents' desires, representing their views in policy matters, and providing constituent assistance, information and district services.

Congressional scholars Roger H. Davidson and Walter J. Oleszek describe the dual nature of Congress as both a lawmaking body and a representative assembly. In fact, they maintain that there really are two congresses: the world of Capitol Hill and the world of the home state or district. As Congress performs its lawmaking duties, it of course is affected by events at home. Members of Congress, after all, depend upon the support of their electorate in order to serve. In turn, they are expected to understand and promote the views of constituents and to serve as their links with the federal government. Since this role is the essence of elective office, members, especially in recent years, have transformed their staffs into "veritable cottage industries for generating publicity and handling constituents' inquiries."

Davidson and Oleszek also say that the concept of two congresses is reflected in individual constituent perceptions. On the one hand, Congress, the institution, is viewed as the lawmaking body, while at the same time its individual members are viewed as agents of local interests. As individuals, they are evaluated in terms of their service to the district and its citizens, their responsiveness, trustworthiness, and whether they listen to and empathize with local problems. Most members of Congress establish strong local ties prior to their national service. Certainly, reelection is dependent upon continued support from the voters, and assisting with the resolution of constituent problems is one way to retain such support. As Richard Fennno summarized,

Many activities can be incorporated under the rubric of district service," or "constituent service," but the core activity is providing help to individuals, groups, and localities in coping with the federal government. Individuals need someone to intercede with the bureaucracies handling their veterans' benefits, social security checks, military status, civil service pension, immigration proceedings, and the like. Private groups and local governments need assistance in pursuing federal funds for water and sewer projects, highways, dams, buildings, planning, research and development, small business loans, and so forth. Sometimes service benefiting individuals is known as "casework" and service having larger numbers of benefactors [sic] is called "project assistance." Sometimes both are lumped together as casework.²

Project Work and Casework

Project assistance involves attempts to secure funding for state projects, in order to ensure that one's state or district receives its "fair share." This activity entails working with various levels of executive agency staff, as well as coordination with state or local government officials, social service and community action organizations, private research groups and small businesses. Constituents' needs range from basic information to assistance or even advocacy in dealing with the bureaucracy.³

Casework involves providing assistance to individuals who have problems, most frequently resulting from disagreements with agencies. Difficulties with social security and veterans' benefits are the most common types of problems dealt with. Other categories include immigration,

unemployment and health care benefits, IRS issues, civil service issues, and housing. The amount of casework that offices undertake seems constantly to expand. State offices handle the major portion of casework, but the Washington office will occasionally process complex or particularly sensitive cases.

Handling casework is largely a staff activity. In fact, there is little correlation between the importance a member places on providing casework services and the amount of time he or she actually spends on it. Instead, this responsibility is delegated to specialized staff who are expected to handle it efficiently and effectively. Some scholars have pointed out that members may even work to expand their office caseloads because a growing caseload means expanding contacts with constituents. Newsletters and district mailings carry stories of successful cases, solicit input through questionnaires, and provide information about services available through the office. Town meetings and continued contacts with certain interest groups, such as senior citizens' and veterans' groups, are other methods for generating casework.⁴

Communications

Representational duties include communicating with one's constituency, receiving people's opinions through issue mail and keeping constituents informed about issues that affect their interests. Authors Davidson and Oleszek describe this activity as the "mentor/communicator" role that is linked to legislating and constituency "errand-running."

The role of the educator is first to learn, to assess the feelings of the district on particular issues, and to educate other members as to the aims of your constituency. To take the views of Washington back to the district. It's a two-way function.⁵

To carry out this function, mass mailings of newsletters and press releases are prepared by professional press staff, and opinion editorials are prepared for newspapers. TV "spots" are distributed to networks, and members increasingly participate in live interviews on radio and television news programs, in addition to scheduling numerous personal appearances in the home state or district.

Constituent Services

The contemporary Congress devotes substantial time and resources to the provision of constituent services, as is demonstrated by the existence of specialized office staffs, many of which are located in state and district offices, to handle constituent requests, receive and respond to their opinions, and provide information.

Representational activities within a member's office include responding to inquiries regarding current issues, assisting groups in the home state with their efforts to secure federal grants and with other projects, developing and coordinating media activities, processing casework, and answering requests for information. Procedures for handling VIP (high priority) records, casework, grants and projects, issue-related mail, invitations, military academy appointments, general requests, and out-of-state mail are also established within each member's office. All of the activities associated with the representative function result in voluminous records on diverse media. Automated systems are used to produce correspondence; information systems are used to perform legislative research and to do fiscal analysis; and administrative support systems provide basic word processing, records management and desktop publishing services. Photographs, audio tapes, video, microfilm, and a variety of computer storage formats can be found in any member's office.

Members of Congress, then, perform a major function as they "represent" the interests of citizens in their district or state. They must be aware of the views and needs of their constituents and advance their interests both legislatively and in dealings with the federal bureaucracy. To do this requires trips back home, meetings with organized groups and individuals in Washington, telephone contact, responding to mail, reviewing local media coverage and reporting, and contacts with federal agencies and other organizations as appropriate. Advancing constituent interests entails promoting local industries and evaluating legislation in light of constituent needs and impact. A final component to the representational function is the "ombudsman" role a member performs between citizens and the federal government. Members' offices play a key part in providing information on federal programs and procedures and in helping constituents to obtain federal grants.

Part II. Representation: Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Project Assistance

Documentation of members' efforts to channel federal money to home states is maintained in each member's office "project files." "Typically, project files include the entire dossier on each project with which the senator or representative was involved. The file contains a copy of the original application for funds, the application's supporting documentation, correspondence between the applicant and the congressional office, and correspondence between the congressional office and the funding body."⁶

Project assistance files have many possible labels, including: "state files," "state projects," "state affairs," "grants and loans," "state matters," "regional field office files," and "public works." These files usually contain requests from cities, towns, and other organizations for information and assistance in obtaining federal funds or federal grants, together with agency responses. They include correspondence, letters of transmittal and acknowledgment; copies of grant applications or project plans; agency response and review; press releases; financial reports; and evaluations. Members' state and/or Washington DC offices may have full-time grants/projects specialists or staff working under a coordinator to process these requests.

Additional documentation for project assistance is located in federal agency records and among the records of the state, city, and local government agencies, private organizations, and businesses originating the requests. All the members of a state delegation may receive a copy of the same request from the same constituent. Members from other states may also maintain files on the project when it is a regional grant involving several states. Documentation on successful applications may reside in the member's public relations files because of the press releases, media spots, and photographs that are generated by and for successful applicants.

Casework

Casework involves congressional offices assisting constituents who have problems with federal agencies. Casework files contain letters or phone messages from constituents, letters back to constituents, transmittal to the appropriate agency, the response from the agency, and the final letter to the constituent. These files, too, have many possible labels, including "regional field office files," "casework," "case files," "constituent cases," or "service case files."

Casework frequently is managed in state offices, although some offices may manage all casework in the Washington office. When it is handled in state offices, complex cases or cases of particular interest to the member may be forwarded to the Washington office for handling. Also, cases which deal with concerns unique to a state or region (i.e., Alaska Native claims, West Virginia black lung cases) may be handled in Washington. If casework leads to the introduction in Congress of a private bill of relief, casework documentation may also be found in pertinent bill files.

Information on the completion of successful casework often appears in congressional newsletters, public relations radio and TV spots, newspapers in the state or district, and in the *Congressional Record*. Agencies, while not initiating congressional case files, may have files on the same constituent, who wrote to them at the same time the member was written.

Issue Mail

Incoming mail from individuals expressing their opinions about issues, as well as bulk mailings orchestrated by organizations, constitute this series which variously is called "constituent correspondence," "issue mail," or "pressure mail." Sometimes it is filed as "general correspondence" or "political correspondence."

This mail most frequently reflects those issues that are important to the member and his/her staff. "Typically, congressional offices pay little attention to letters about issues with which the senator or representative is not especially concerned. The office answers such letters with form responses that either present the member's position or simply thank the correspondents for sharing their views. On the other hand, letters about the member's special interests often provoke an individualized response."⁷

The bulk of this kind of record is found in congressional offices, although occasionally it is routed to committee staff for reply. Since constituents may also write to other members of their congressional delegation, similar letters may be received by several members' offices.

Congressional offices use computers to manage and respond to the huge volume of constituent mail they receive. Computer-generated indexes to the letters show which standardized paragraphs the office used in preparing a response.

Appointments Files

Military Academy Appointment Files: Constituents ask members to write letters of nomination on their behalf to gain admittance to the service academies. Included in these files are supporting letters of recommendation; academic records including grades and test scores; photographs of the applicants; and usually a tracking sheet or register for the congressional office. These files may be referred to by the office as "service academy files" or "academy recommendations."

Job recommendations/patronage files: Constituents and former staff may request from the members letters of reference or nominations for jobs, especially federal ones. Files may include letters of recommendation, resumes of the applicants, and job descriptions of positions sought.

These types of files may be generated at the state office level and then be transferred to the Washington office or they may only be handled in the Washington office. Caseworkers frequently handle service academy files by keeping a register, logbook, or computer-based index that assists with tracking the outcome of the member's recommendation. Job recommendations may be handled by a secretary and filed alphabetically in personal office files.

Activities

Senators and representatives receive hundreds of invitations to appear at political and community events each year. Members frequently are designated to serve on interparliamentary commissions and task forces, or they travel in connection with committee investigative work. Invitations may be in the form of letters, printed cards, or telephone message sheets. They are usually maintained by a personal or appointments secretary or press officer or are kept in pertinent committee files. They are seldom interfiled with trip records, which are maintained separately due to the expense reimbursement voucher information they contain.

Documentation of trips back to the state or district or to foreign destinations is maintained in most members' offices by a personal secretary, administrative assistant, or office manager. These files may contain bits of interesting information in the form of itineraries, lists of people or pressure groups to meet with, background information on organizations or people, copies of speeches, background information on issues, thank you letters and letters of invitation, news clippings, press releases, and information regarding expenses.

Duplicate copies of information in invitations and trip files can also appear at the state or district level. Duplicate invitations are sometimes issued to congressional staff members and will appear in their files as well. News clippings documenting attendance at various functions and media coverage of such events will appear in media/public relations files. Many archivists believe that invitations need to be checked against information in trip files to ensure retention of a complete record of trips and constituent contacts.

Requests

Constituents write senators and representatives requesting such items as autographed pictures, flags that flew over the capitol, agriculture yearbooks, biographies, tickets to the White House and congressional galleries, copies of public documents, and information about the state.

Memorabilia

Members of Congress can accumulate considerable quantities of certificates, wall plaques, awards, physical objects, art objects, and other items associated with their congressional service. This material may have been presented by constituents, lobbyists, public interest groups, or foreign sources. Gifts valued above the statutory limit and the limits set by each house may not be retained personally by members or staff. Items valued under this limit frequently are transferred to a member's designated archival repository and are referred to as "memorabilia."

B. Status of Documentation

Project Assistance

Congressional staff generally adhere to published records management guidelines (as listed in Chapter II, Part II-B) for disposition of project assistance/grants and projects files. Offices tend to retain these files permanently, without too much loss, if office management systems are functioning properly. However, the contents of the files, in many cases, are uneven. They can either be missing integral pieces, such as a full copy of a grant application, or be filled with redundant copies. Files are usually not weeded properly by office staff, or they may be poorly indexed. Some redundancy may occur between the state office and the Washington office, or pieces of the files may be scattered between Washington and the state offices. Duplication among the records of members of a state delegation is also possible. In general, grants and projects staff are more consistent about leaving their files with members' offices when they resign than are legislative assistants.

Members' press files and clippings files contain additional documentation on project assistance. Good indexes or cross references among these sources seldom exist even though press files are usually well organized. Audiovisual materials containing project assistance information are not well identified.

Computers have had a major impact upon the way many offices file project correspondence. Instead of filing related material together in a "case file," many offices interfile incoming letters with issue mail, requests, and other types of correspondence, in a straight numerical sequence.

Computer-generated indexes are used to locate individual letters. Offices also neglect, when they have the option, to have bulky computer-generated cumulative indexes and reports generated on microfilm (COM), which is easier to use and preserve. Personal office computer systems have also created preservation problems for the state archival repositories, which seldom have compatible equipment and software. Diskettes that do survive can seldom be used by the archives and must be converted, thus creating an additional expense.

Offices that continue to segregate project assistance records from individual casework and issue mail have an advantage in information retrieval and disposition. Both activities are greatly facilitated when these types of records are filed separately.

Casework

The problem with case files is not lack of documentation but their bulk and relative lack of historical research value. Casework numbers present the impression that senators and representatives provide enormous and far-reaching services to constituents in resolving their cases. Yet, although successful casework may improve the number of positive votes at election time, it represents few, if any, actual contacts between the senator or representative and the constituent. Thus, such files have little value for documenting the activities of members of Congress. Also, the Privacy Act must be taken into consideration when dealing with individually identifiable case files that may contain information the release of which would constitute an invasion of personal privacy.

The disposition of case files (the incoming textual material) continues to be one of the most controversial topics among congressional staff, archivists, and researchers. Although many archivists consider that there is little long-term research potential to this material, congressional staff recognize the value of casework to their constituents, and researchers tend not to like to see anything disposed of. As a result, staff seldom follow the guidelines on disposition of these files. Some archivists, too, are reluctant to dispose of this material because they feel the research value has not been demonstrated one way or the other.

Computer-generated cumulative name and subject indexes are generated from computer systems and data bases used by members' offices to

track the status and outcome of each case. Statistical reports can also be generated from these systems. Retention recommendations for information maintained on Senate systems are included in the available Senate handbooks. Members' offices and repositories tend to follow guidelines for computer files more closely than those for paper files.

Issue Mail

Offices and repositories have not been consistent in following available records management guidelines. Many do not discard duplicate constituent correspondence, such as form letters and postcards, or they microfilm or sample issues that generate widespread and repetitive comment, despite the bulk involved. Some members' offices consider that congressional archivists are better qualified to perform sampling and selection and thus prefer to hold "everything" until such time as an archivist can appraise and evaluate it.

Retention guidelines for master libraries of form paragraphs and issue mail indexes and reports are more accurately followed.

Appointments

As with casework and issue mail, problems here relate to offices' and repositories' reluctance to thoroughly appraise and discard information recommended for short-term retention. Files that are retained for research purposes raise questions of access and privacy, especially with regard to resumes, confidential recommendations, and academic files. More often than not offices and repositories are erring by keeping too much.

Activities

Documentation normally is quite complete. The difficulty for repositories derives from offices keeping too much rather than too little of this material. While most archivists and historians agree that refused invitations should be discarded, few agree that accepted invitations should be sampled even when schedules, trip files, and itineraries clearly indicate what events the senator or representative attended. More often than not, available records management guidelines are not followed, and all invitations and trip files items are kept.

Requests

Usually one or two clerks in the Washington office will handle this task, which is sometimes the responsibility of the reception area staff. Some duplication may appear in state office files. Most archivists agree that these files have no archival or historical value but still resist disposing of them or convincing the office to dispose of them.

Memorabilia

Memorabilia accumulates in all members' offices to a greater or lesser degree. For those who serve many years, the amount can become considerable. Many members offer their memorabilia to repositories along with their papers and records. Disposition of such material can be problematic, both for the member and for the repository. Repositories differ in their acquisition needs and in their abilities to maintain and preserve physical objects. Many repositories are reluctant to decline or be selective about the memorabilia they are offered for fear of offending the donor.

In the Senate, gifts valued at over \$100 from foreign governments, organizations or agents thereof are deposited with the secretary of the Senate for disposal or official use. (5 U.S.C. 7342) The Commission on Art will dispose of gifts and may consider the appropriateness of transferring gifts or decorations as recommended by a senator. In the House, foreign gifts valued above the statutory limit are transferred to the clerk of the House for appropriate disposition.

In both houses, gifts from foreign sources are reported to authorities within each body. These reports are compiled and published in the *Federal Register*.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Coordinating with the repository. Repository archivists should establish communication with the offices of new members early in their House and Senate careers for the purpose of encouraging good records management practices. They should also communicate with the House and Senate historical offices and archivists.

2. Statewide efforts. Establish guidelines for the development of statewide cooperative documentation efforts to lessen duplication and identify desirable documentation.

3. Constituent-related files. Appropriate offices within the Congress should encourage congressional staff to follow established records management guidelines and should promulgate guidelines through seminars and handbooks. Encourage members' offices to establish discrete files for project assistance, casework, issue mail, VIP, and legislative correspondence. The House needs to produce a records management handbook for members that makes this recommendation. Emphasis should be added to the Senate *Handbook* regarding proper maintenance of project assistance files with stress on eliminating duplication and consolidating the function either in Washington or state offices. Office and systems managers should adopt information management standards and promote their use by all staff.

4. Project assistance. Develop an information paper on project assistance documentation in federal, state, municipal, and local records. Include an assessment of relative value and duplication. Such information could be generated as part of a congressional archival information data-base project discussed in Chapter II.

5. Casework.

a) Strengthen communication with offices about implementation of records management guidelines with respect to casework, and explain the lack of use of case files by researchers.⁸

b) Develop guidelines on appraising and sampling casework, so that repositories wishing to maintain some casework files can reduce bulk.⁹

6. Issue mail. Archivists and congressional offices must reach agreements on the need to discard, microfilm, or sample originals of incoming constituent issue letters. This must be done on an office-by-office basis due to the diversity of types of material that offices file as "issue mail." Some offices interfile VIP-related material and legislative material with issue mail. Other offices segregate the substantive legislative communications from those dealing with projects, thus making microfilming or sampling easier. Some archivists question the value of retaining issue mail even on microfilm, pointing out that the bulk would discourage serious research use. Most agree, however, that some of this mail should be retained to provide evidence of what constituents were saying and how they were expressing themselves to their congressional representatives.

a) The Congressional Archivists Roundtable should prepare a position paper regarding appraisal and research use of constituent/issue mail. Include guidelines and recommendations on sampling constituent issue mail.

b) Encourage offices to discard duplicate copies of pressure mail prior to microfilming. Encourage microfilming of issue mail of substance, and discarding the originals.

c) Encourage offices to dispose of routine requests on a regular basis and avoid filing it with issue mail.

7. Data bases.

a) Encourage offices to use standard data-base management software to cross reference and index a variety of textual files, such as constituent correspondence, project assistance, and various press files.

b) Offices that interfile project work and casework with other record types should be encouraged to identify these types of work on computer-generated indexes, so that separate listings can be created. Where the capability exists to produce the constituent correspondence indexes on computer output microfilm, it should be encouraged. Standard software data bases containing documents, information files, and index information should be preserved in electronic format.

8. Electronic records.

a) Broaden preservation guidelines for records in personal computer systems to stress that they be transferred either to paper or to ASCII files, or that they be transferred to the House and Senate historical offices for transfer to an archival storage medium. Appraise information on electronic mail systems and develop procedures to retain permanently valuable information.

b) Encourage development of case studies on appraisal of congressional electronic records.¹⁰

9. Preservation.

a) For preservation of interfiled clippings, stress the need for photocopying and cross referencing with press files.

b) Recommend better filing, labeling and indexing of photographs, tapes, and other fragile media. Teach proper care and handling.

10. Personal recommendations. Encourage offices to develop logs or indexes that summarize information on the outcome of personal job recommendations. This information could then serve as the permanent record of office action, allowing original materials appraised as temporary to be discarded at the appropriate time.

11. Privacy Act. Prepare an information paper on the Privacy Act for congressional staff and archivists. Include a discussion of researcher needs, repository responsibilities, and congressional office responsibilities. Include guidelines on how the Privacy Act affects access to information retained in congressional records.

12. Memorabilia and gifts. Prepare guidelines for members on the disposition of memorabilia and gifts. The guidelines should reflect applicable laws and regulations of the House and Senate, provide guidance on the type of memorabilia that is suitable for transfer to a member's designated archival repository, and contain suggestions for appropriate disposition of material not suitable for inclusion with a research collection. Suitability might depend on such factors as whether the object provides valuable information or evidence regarding the member and his or her family, its intrinsic significance, whether it is hand-crafted or commercial, and whether it relates to an interest or project of the member. These guidelines would be helpful to members, their staff, and to repositories that receive and preserve collections of members of Congress.

Chapter IV:

Documenting Political Activities

Part I. Political Activities: A Definition

Political functions of Congress include campaigning and getting elected, political party activities, and establishing party leadership and an internal organization that facilitates priority setting, policy formulation, and consensus building. The process of getting elected is described by Roger H. Davidson and Walter J. Oleszek in *Congress and Its Members*. The authors describe a two-step process of recruitment and campaigning.

Campaigns

Recruitment is defined as the social and political process that elevates individuals to leadership posts. It is composed of formal elements, such as the constitutional framework and statutes governing elections, and informal or personal factors, such as skills and attributes that make some individuals more attractive as candidates than others. Redistricting and the apportionment of congressional seats are also important political processes that impact widely on election outcomes. The process of drawing congressional district lines is an instrument of partisan strategy that can convey significant electoral advantages.

Deciding to run for office is the first step in getting elected. As Davidson and Oleszek point out, “for most it hinges on a blend of considerations, some personal and emotional, others practical and rational.”¹ Building a strong campaign financial base is vital to successfully reaching and influencing the voting public. Sources of funding include individuals, party committees and political action committees (PACs).

Campaign financing laws require that candidates file reports with the Federal Election Commission, the secretary of the Senate, and the clerk of the House. Parties distribute funds, provide briefings on issues, and offer assistance with developing campaign techniques and strategies.

PACs also engage in “independent spending,” advertising for or against candidates without their consent. Frequently this takes the form of negative campaigning. According to Davidson and Oleszek, PACs have changed the behavior of candidates and the way campaigns are run because they have become such major contributors. “Campaigns often reflect a patchwork of financial backing from favorable groups,” and they have “helped nationalize campaigns, since their money flows effortlessly across state and district lines.”² Finally, nominating procedures in each state affect campaigns and elections. One of the reforms adopted early in the century was the direct primary, which has broadened the process and weakened party structure by encouraging individual candidates to appeal directly to the people.

Increasingly, voters must be wooed individually, either in person or through the media. Campaigns are a combination of personal contacts, speech giving, advertising, symbolic appeals and fund raising. The candidate’s job is to set the tone and, together with his campaign organization, to implement strategies aimed at winning votes. Local perceptions and issues weigh heavily in the outcome. As Davidson and Oleszek point out, “although national tides are the backdrop against which these local contests are fought, the candidates, the voters, and often the issues and styles, are deeply rooted in states and districts.”³

Political Parties

Political party activities undertaken by members of Congress encompass a wide range of areas, including serving in leadership posts of national political parties and on party campaign committees, campaigning for party candidates, raising money for party candidates via the congressional party campaign committees, and

holding congressional leadership positions within one's own political party. Each house has Democratic and Republican campaign committees that serve as the election arms of the respective parties. Their primary responsibility is to raise money for campaigns and to "get their people elected." Activities include direct-mail campaigns, solicitation from individual donors, and other "party-building" activities such as maintaining broadcasting facilities for use by candidates.

Abner J. Mikva and Patti B. Saris in *The American Congress: The First Branch* discuss the relationship between congressional parties and national and local party organizations. They point out that generally there has been no distinct relationship between the congressional and local and national units. Any such relationships depend largely on "whether the congressional elections are considered a priority by the national party committee."⁴

Since passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) in the early 1970s, national party and PAC activities have become major factors in federal campaigns. The ceilings on spending by parties are higher than the limits governing PAC spending and are indexed to inflation. As a result, the influence of parties has grown correspondingly. Party spending for Senate campaigns tends to be higher than for House campaigns, because the spending ceilings are higher and the geographical area is larger, as well as because of the competition for control of the Senate. Recent trends in both parties include efforts to integrate party structure at all levels, using such techniques as polling, advertising campaigns, direct-mail campaigns, analysis of the opposition, assistance to local party units, and the development of grassroots fund raising, registration drives, and get-out-the-vote networks.

Variables influencing the strength of ties between congressional and national parties include the traditions of the two parties and congressional efforts to carry out the national party platform. Both congressional party allegiance to the national party and the party caucuses' willingness to work for the national party is influenced by the personality, popularity, and party of the person in the White House. Congressional and state parties work together mainly at campaign time, when state organizations supply funds and staff to local congressional candidates. The state party structure plays a central role following each decennial

census when state legislatures redraw congressional district lines. On the other hand, the congressional party rarely is involved in state party matters.

The FECA also encouraged the growth of PACs. The legal financial role of PACs in campaigns was established through a series of decisions by Congress, the Federal Election Commission, and the Supreme Court. Under FECA, PACs have certain contribution limits per candidate per campaign. The Supreme Court, in *Buckley v. Valeo* (424 U.S. 121,124 (1976)), declared unconstitutional the original FECA limit on the amounts individuals or PACs could spend independently of a candidate's official campaign. PACs and individuals can spend as much as they want independently for or against federal candidates. While most PACs only give money, some provide other services such as advertising, supplying campaign workers, or even recruiting candidates. From 1974 to 1991 the number of PACs registered with the FEC rose from 608 to 4123. They exist in great variety and are categorized for statistical purposes as corporate, labor, trade, membership, health, "nonconnected" (neither candidate nor party related), cooperative, and corporate without stock.

As author Gary C. Jacobson points out, one of the by-products of increased party and PAC involvement in campaigns is to erode the ability of the candidate to control the content of the campaign.⁵ Factors such as personal performance, experience, and the provision of services are the favored issues of incumbents. Parties and PACs frequently tend to interject into campaigns troublesome and controversial issues that can lead to an incumbent's defeat. An increasing use of negative campaign tactics, introducing issues to make the opponent look badly, has sparked much public discussion. PACs and parties as national funding sources have forced national issues onto the local agenda, often with the effect of undermining a candidate's autonomy or freedom to maneuver and compromise.⁶ Another effect of the growing influence of PACs and their role in increasing the cost of elections is to cause members of Congress to spend more time thinking about and pursuing campaign money. This has led to a growing concern about the relationship between congressional pursuit of campaign money and congressional decisions. PACs, along with such other factors as an increasingly open and decentralized legislative

system, have contributed, according to Jacobson, to shifting the focus of congressional politics from inside the institution to outside. Members of Congress spend more time on external relations, and external influences on the legislative process have become stronger, thus contributing to the increased fragmentation of the institution.⁷

Caucuses

Internal organization within Congress for the purposes of setting priorities, establishing policy, determining agendas, and building consensus takes a variety of forms. The broadest are the party caucuses or "conferences" that include all members of each party. The influence exerted by caucuses has varied over time, at certain points being so strong that it determined the success of legislation, committee assignments and the development of legislative proposals. Basically, the caucus serves an organizing function such as designating candidates for leadership posts and officers of the House and Senate. As Mikva and Saris point out, "the congressional caucus functions primarily to create alliances, agreements, and compromises to form the basis for policy and action. When the caucus is strong and its leadership powerful, the caucus is usually successful in hammering out critical differences behind-the-scenes, providing thereby a powerful front to the opposite party on the floor of the chamber."⁸ Over the years, the caucuses have developed committee structures, including party steering committees, also known at times as committees on committees, that are generally involved in making assignments to committees. Each caucus has an elected position of conference secretary, who is responsible for notifying members of meetings, keeping the minutes, preparing and forwarding resolutions on the caucus' agenda. The secretary also participates in the steering and policy committees of his or her respective party.⁹

Leadership

Most senators and many representatives hold leadership positions both within their own parties and through committee and subcommittee chairmanships. The most powerful leadership position in the House of Representatives is the Speaker of the House who ranks behind the vice president in succession to the presidency. The Speaker's job is

to lead the House, to maintain party cohesion, and to forge coalitions. With assistance from the Steering and Policy Committee, the Speaker designates committee assignments and through the caucus works out committee membership ratios for majority and minority parties. Other central roles include marshalling support for favored legislation through influence and persuasion, disciplining and coaching freshman congressmen, setting legislative priorities, serving as liaison between the president and the House, and leading the opposition when his party is not in the White House. The Speaker's job also is to ensure an orderly functioning of the House, with the aid of a parliamentarian. As Mikva and Saris summarize:

Although not as autocratic as those possessed by Speakers Reed and Cannon at the turn of the century, the powers of the speaker are sufficient to pass important, or block undesirable, legislation. His powers include the authority to recognize members wishing to speak on the floor of the House; to plot the course and timing of legislative consideration; to decide the referral of legislation; to rule on parliamentary procedure; to appoint conference committees; to expedite legislation through the use of the unanimous consent and suspension procedures; to set the legislative agenda; to influence the decisions of the Rules Committee through his authority to choose its members; to exercise leverage over committee assignments; to utilize the superior resources of the Steering and Policy Committee; and to enlist the aid of the majority leader and the whip organization.¹⁰

The House majority leader's main function is to persuade party members to vote the party line. Other duties include scheduling legislation, presiding over procedural debates in the Speaker's absence, ensuring that bills are reported, and assisting with the setting of legislative priorities. The majority leader works closely with the party whip organization to line up support for legislation. The minority leader, on the other hand, plays more of an obstructionist role and works to undermine or amend the legislative agenda of the majority. The minority leader also plays a leading role in making minority committee assignments, establishing the whip structure, serving as liaison with a pres-

ident of his own party, and serving as spokesperson for the minority viewpoint.

The whip organization in the House is fairly elaborate. Its main function is to collect and disseminate information and to ensure that members are present when needed on the floor to vote.

The vice president of the United States serves as president of the Senate and can vote only when there is a tie. There is no other role for the vice president. A president "pro tempore" is selected to perform the duties of the chair during the absence of the vice president, but many senators in fact take turns presiding in the absence of the President Pro Tempore. They are of the majority party, since the presiding officer has the right to rule on procedural questions.

The most powerful leadership position in the Senate is that of the majority leader who is assisted by the majority whip and the secretary for the majority. The minority leader and assistant minority leader serve as heads of the minority and are assisted by the secretary for the minority. These leadership posts became official only as recently as 1920. Leadership duties include the formulation of positions within the party caucus, liaison with the president especially when he is of the same party, coordination of activities with the House, scheduling legislation, resolving controversies, and building coalitions to pass specific measures.

The Senate majority leader's powers are not precisely equivalent to those of the Speaker, because the Senate Rules and Administration Committee does not have authority to schedule legislation in the same way that the House Rules Committee does. Unlike the House, a rule is not required in the Senate to schedule legislation for floor action. Also unlike the House, the Senate parliamentarian on behalf of the Senate's president, not the majority leader, determines legislative precedents, refers bills to committee, and resolves points of order. Business in the Senate is normally conducted under a suspension of the rules by securing unanimous consent agreements. These are negotiated by the majority and minority leaders and stipulate the scheduling, extent of debate, and amendments. The majority leader interprets the agreements and determines which senators will debate and for how long. Because of the importance of unanimous consent agreements in the Senate, the minority leader plays a more

influential role than the minority counterpart in the House.

The Democratic and Republican whip organizations in the Senate operate differently than those in the House because most business is conducted under unanimous consent agreements, and there is thus less need for votes on a moment's notice. These organizations gather and impart information regarding the legislative agenda and consent agreements through whip notices.

Party Organizations in Congress

Party organizations contribute to the legislative process in a variety of ways and at the same time afford leadership opportunities to members. In the House, these organizations include the Democratic Caucus, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the Democratic Personnel Committee, the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, the House Republican Committee on Committees, the House Republican Conference, House Republican Research Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee, and the Republican Policy Committee. Senate groups include secretaries for the majority and minority, the Democratic Conference, the Democratic Policy Committee, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Republican Conference, the Republican Policy Committee, and the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

These groups perform diverse functions including making committee assignments, scheduling floor debates, and performing research. With the exception of the campaign committees, whose source of funding is outside the House and Senate, all of the records of these political offices are considered to be records of each respective party and body. Only a small portion of this material has as yet been sent to the Archives for preservation.

A brochure published by the Senate Democratic Policy Committee gives a good picture of the range of services performed by these groups. This committee serves as a "central focus for Democratic legislative initiatives and floor strategy." The staff assists all Democrats on the floor and assists in scheduling legislation. The committee also produces original reference materials. Floor assistance includes liaison between the legislative committees and the Democratic leadership; arranging unanimous consent agreements on timing, amendments, and procedural issues; advice

on general parliamentary situations; coordinating floor amendments, providing information about floor activity, and assisting with insertions into the *Congressional Record*. The committee provides legislative support in tracking legislation, identifying issues of concern to Democrats that arise in committees, analyzing administration proposals, monitoring floor amendments, providing assistance to committee members and the Democratic Conference, and producing speeches and position papers on major legislation. Finally, the Democratic Policy Committee compiles and maintains voting information including voting records, vote analyses, individual voting booklets, voting attendance records, and statistical information on Senate activity on a daily basis going back to 1933.

Informal Groups Within Congress

Informal leadership positions exist in numerous informal legislative groups, as well as caucuses and task forces organized for study of a single issue. For example, the Democratic Study Group in the House serves primarily as a research service, gathering information about reform causes and making it available to the members. State and regional groups tend to deal with more immediately parochial issues and may be nonpartisan. All groups are formed for the purpose of influencing the legislative process.

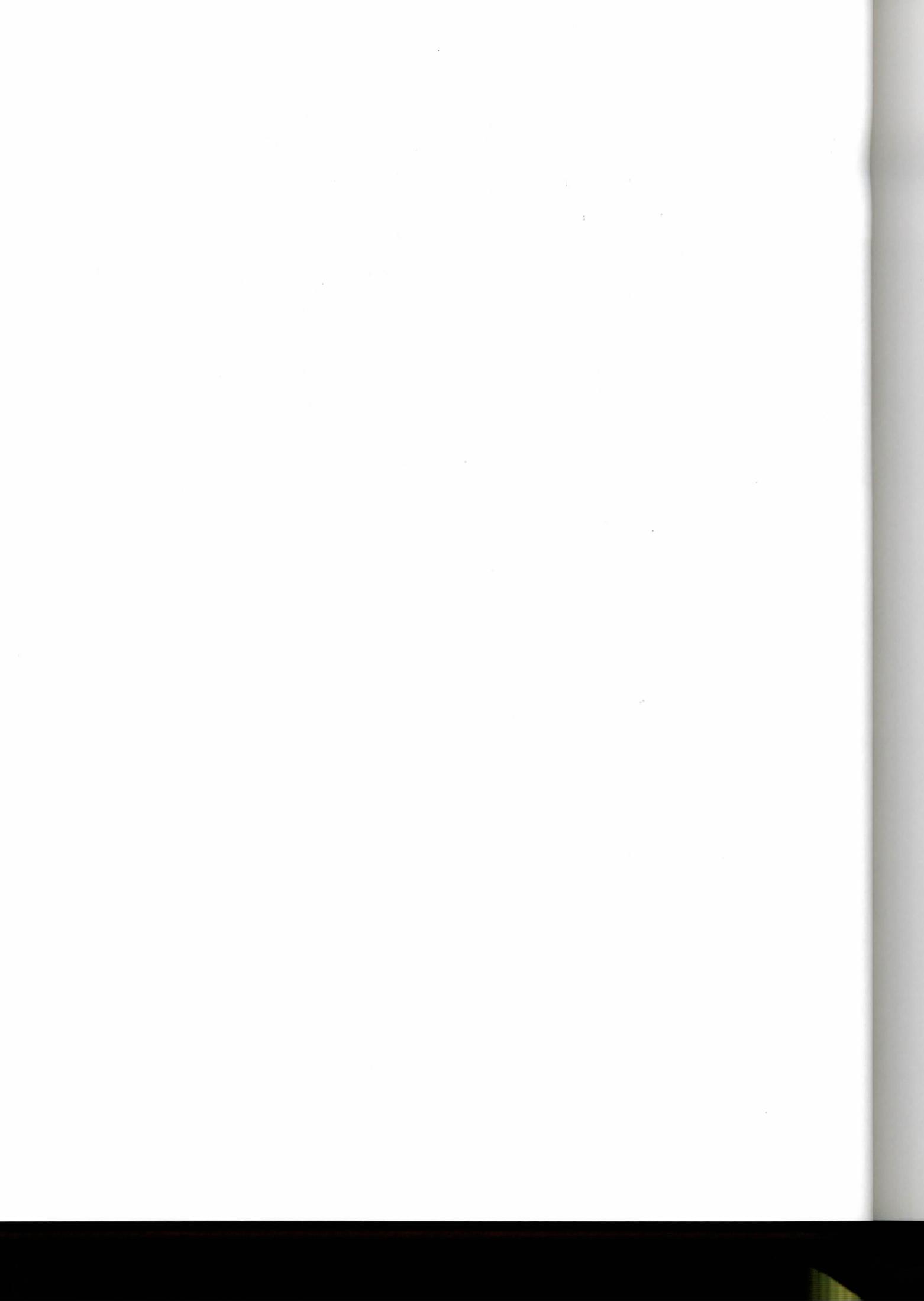
During the past twenty years, the number of caucuses has risen from approximately a dozen to over one hundred. Because of the informal and voluntary nature of some of them, it is difficult to keep track of the exact number. Caucus participation allows members to specialize on issues and to exert influence through the group. Caucuses can serve as vehicles for the resolution of differences between committees, parties, or between the two houses. They provide a coordinated viewpoint and serve as a central contact with outside interest groups. In so doing they collect and convey information to members of Congress and can serve as information coordinators between different branches and levels of government. Service on caucuses enhances members' standing with their constituencies.

Congressional Research Service staff member Sula P. Richardson has outlined three categories of caucus functions: "(1) informational (acquiring, compiling, coordinating, and distributing information); (2) legislative (obtaining congressional approval or promoting legislative proposals and oversight of the appropriation of funds); and (3)

representational (where the Member acts on behalf of his constituents and seeks to promote their interests)."¹¹

Examples of informational caucuses include the Environmental and Energy Study Conference, the House Truck Caucus, and the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, which both gathers information and acts as an advocate for advancing legislation. Other caucuses emphasize various legislative functions. These range from drafting legislation, performing agency and program oversight, preparing publications, serving as clearinghouses, and developing specialized expertise on a subject. Recently, caucuses have broadened their roles to include representational assistance. The Congressional Hispanic and Black Caucuses represent specific groups in national and members' constituencies. Some groups prepare information packets and speech material and assist with developing seminars and conferences on issues, which can be offered in a member's home district.

Many of these caucuses have little formal structure. Leadership usually is whoever volunteers, and the business generally is handled by legislative staff in an individual member's office as part of their regular office duties. Some caucuses, however, are very structured, with officers, executive committee, task forces, and staff. Relationships with outside groups vary depending on the focus of each caucus's goals. For example, the Senate Beef Caucus was initiated by the National Cattlemen's Association.¹² Caucuses may lead to the establishment of outside groups and serve as links between outside groups and allies within Congress. Some caucuses have established non-profit institutes or foundations to conduct long-term research and policy analyses which may accept private funds and tax deductible contributions. Although legally separate from their corresponding caucus, these foundations can be a source of interns and volunteers and can provide analyses and reports on issues of interest. As stated by Richardson, "through the establishment of political action committees caucuses may also channel campaign assistance in the form of advice, money, literature, experience, and publicity."¹³ For example, the Democratic Study Group sponsors its own PACs. Other caucuses, such as the Hispanic, Black, and Arts Caucuses, have established ties with and provide services to outside constituencies.



Part II. Political Activities: Recruitment and Campaigns; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Recruitment

Entering the political arena is a process that involves personal choice, opportunity, and usually a progressive level of involvement and personal commitment in politics over time. Typically, an individual might begin as a young lawyer actively supporting or working with the local branch of a party or an individual politician. Having impressed the local powers that be with hard work, charisma, and/or political ideals, the individual either offers or is recruited to run for office. Frequently, that first office might be as representative of the local district in the state legislature or member of a city council.

If the individual is successful in building a solid record, he or she might seek nomination for higher office, perhaps Congress or a statewide office such as governor. If again successful and the opportunity arises, a run for the Senate might occur. Recruitment and the need to conduct a campaign occurs at all levels of the political spectrum. In documenting Congress, it is important to evaluate local as well as national recruitment sources because the winnowing process generally begins at the local level.

Methods of recruitment have changed over the years as the role of political parties has changed. At one time, local bosses held great power and a select few would identify and recruit a candidate who would further the aims of their faction. This individual would receive their full support and available funding. The primary system and other reforms have led today to a candidate-centered campaign system. Candidates are often self-starters, offering themselves for office and creating their own campaign mechanism, rather than depending on party resources to form and guide their campaigns. This means that documentation of recruitment and campaigns resides most

prominently among the papers of individual candidates. In documenting Congress, it is important to evaluate recruitment at all levels, because the winnowing process for major candidates generally begins at the local level.

In addition to self-starters, recruitment may occur through a variety of party organizations. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, National Republican Senatorial Committee, and National Republican Congressional Committee all engage in recruitment. Representatives of these committees may play a key role in encouraging a candidate to run for office. They may also engage in negative recruitment, discouraging a potential candidate from entering a race when they believe he or she would mount a poor campaign against a beatable incumbent. For example, the NRCC has actively recruited former Democratic House members and state and local politicians to run as part of the Republican ticket. This active recruitment occurs particularly in regions in which the Republican party has begun to attract a significant following, such as the previously staunchly Democratic South.

Political scientist Paul S. Herrnson believes the recent recruitment activities of the national party organizations "are important because they represent the entrance of national party organizations into what has traditionally been a local party preserve." In attempting to influence the decisions of potential candidates, the committees may offer party campaign money and assistance, bring to bear the persuasive abilities of senior members of the party, and provide polls which highlight the chance of success. Indeed, according to Herrnson, "party staffs are principally occupied with locating candidates to run against incumbents." He describes the recruitment process as one "that begins almost immediately after the previous election."¹⁴

Active recruitment is conducted in cooperation with incumbents of each chamber of Congress and

requires the involvement of state and local party officials and other political activists. Herrnson quotes Ceci Cole, Communications Director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee as stating: "Candidate recruitment is the biggest thing we do. We start early, looking for candidates through the maze of state and local party organizations and at elected officeholders and other prominent [civic] leaders. We consult with these people and take surveys to try to find out who the best potential candidates are." Herrnson notes, "The differences between the parties' efforts in competitive and non-competitive elections, like the differences between the campaign recruitment activities themselves, are primarily ones of scope and intensity."¹⁵

Campaigns

Political campaigning is a hard and highly visible reality of American public life. All campaigns share certain basic characteristics, regardless of the size of the district to be represented or the importance of the office. To be successful, a candidate must plan and organize a campaign mobilizing available resources.

Despite their visibility, campaigns can be difficult to delineate because officeholders—particularly those running for national office—may be viewed as being engaged in "perpetual campaigns." Such races require the expenditure of huge sums of money, and fund raising is continuous. Often it is difficult to determine when a campaign actually begins. Is it with the formal announcement of the candidate's entry into the contest, or is it at some earlier point in time? Months or even years before the formal entry into a particular race, a campaign may have begun with carefully planned and coordinated behind-the-scenes activities.

If the boundaries of campaigning are vague, the goals of a campaign are not. A candidate seeks name recognition, a positive perception by the public, and strong voter participation. To achieve this, the candidate produces advertisements for newspapers, radio, and television. Public opinion surveys are generated to gauge the mood and requirements of constituents. Direct mailings to potential voters are prepared and distributed. Much of this activity is conducted by political consultants or specialists in advertising, direct-mail campaigns, and voter analyses.

Senate and House campaign committees provide a variety of services to campaigns. Usually inactive during the primary process, these committees generally target their support toward races where the incumbent is either not running for reelection or is in the opposition party and perceived as weak and beatable. The committees may assist with cash grants and fund raising; provide access to professional staff, data-processing services, consulting services for organizational development and strategic planning; assist with the media and communications; and perform administrative, clerical and legal tasks. In addition, they carry out a number of generic or party-focused election activities designed to benefit all candidates on the party ticket. Such services include mounting voter registration drives and advertising campaigns featuring the party rather than a particular candidate. The committees also hold training colleges for candidates and campaign managers.

State party organizations are increasingly service oriented. They provide centrally organized fund raising, conduct voter identification and get-out-the-vote programs, and engage in issue development and public opinion polling. In national and congressional elections, the role of the state parties usually supplements the activities of the candidate's personal campaign organization and the national committees.

Sources

The chief sources documenting recruitment and campaigns are records of the political party organizations and national committees (which are discussed in the following section); collections of candidates' personal papers; news media coverage of campaigns; oral history interviews; records of organizations associated with political campaigning, such as the League of Women Voters, political action committees, political consultants, and advertising agencies or public relations firms; and public disclosure reports such as federal and state campaign finance reports, lobby reports, personal financial statements, public financing, state initiative/referendum spending, and other financial findings that vary from state to state. Personal papers, oral history interviews, and newspaper accounts are perhaps the most descriptive records documenting the decision-making process in re-

ruitment. Personal campaign records, campaign financial and related reports, political consultant records, and political party materials are the most relevant for documenting campaigns.

Personal papers of candidates and officeholders are rich sources for the documentation of recruitment and campaigns. These records may include correspondence with family and friends that discusses the pros and cons of public life and the chances of garnering sufficient funding and support to mount a credible campaign. Memoranda from meetings and telephone conversations may document fund raising and coalition building. Schedules and calendars document meetings and other contacts and activities. Photographs and audiovisual materials illustrate both the content and the style of campaigning, through interviews and debates, public appearances, and election day activities of both winners and losers. Position papers and strategy statements document campaign issues. Particularly valuable are collections of news clippings, especially of local coverage, gathered by staff during the course of a campaign, although they usually tend to reflect positive rather than negative coverage. Such clippings files can also contain valuable information about the opposition.

Personal papers of party officials, journalists, newspaper editors, political scientists, and political activists all may contain materials that help to document political activity and can provide unique insights on campaign events, personalities, and issues.

Campaign spending reports are filed by candidates for federal office with the Federal Election Commission. State reports are filed with secretaries of state, state commissions, boards and election offices. In some states one office may have responsibility, in others a variety of different offices are responsible. A convenient guide to locate and identify organizations on the state and national level is the *Combined Federal/State Disclosure Directory 1992*, published by the Federal Election Commission, Washington, DC 20463. Another publication is *Campaign Finance Law 92: A Summary of State Campaign Finance Laws* by Edward D. Feignbaum of the Federal Election Commission. These reports are widely used by journalists and other researchers to identify sources of financial support and campaign contributions.

News media sources are essential for studying political campaigns, although recruitment is not

generally documented nearly as well as the campaign itself. Primary campaigns for local, state, and federal office are usually very well documented by the local press, which gives general elections even better coverage. The national newspapers tend to focus on presidential elections, although occasionally sources like the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Time* and *Newsweek* will cover congressional races. The Capitol Hill newspaper, *Roll Call* (1956 to present, and since July 1990 available through NEXIS data base) is an important source for coverage of congressional races, including redistricting issues. It is a common complaint of the candidates that journalists ignore issues in covering campaigns and instead seem to concentrate on campaign machinations and the constantly shifting odds for success. Further discussion of media sources is included in Chapter V, Part IV.

Records of various organizations involved in elections can add a great deal to our knowledge of campaigning. Organizations such as political consulting firms, advertising agencies, interest groups, political action committees, and the League of Women Voters also document campaigns. Public relations firms frequently are hired to develop campaigns. In fact, the role of political consultants in elections has become increasingly prominent over the past fifteen years. While candidates select their own consultants, the consultants, in turn, can influence which candidates will succeed, and candidates can become known for the consultants they hire. Some authors have traced the rise of the power of consultants to a decline in the strength of political parties. Whatever the cause, recent literature asserts that, while candidates remain involved in the campaign at the level of strategic planning, they are relatively uninformed in such matters as setting issue priorities and day-to-day tactical operations.¹⁶ Research files, public polling data, correspondence, speeches, press releases, advertisements, and audiovisual materials document the consulting firm's strategies devised for a candidate's platform and the role of the consultants in the democratic process. In addition, political action committees are required to file reports with the Federal Election Commission, which makes them available to the public. Materials documenting the debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters also provide insights into campaign strategies and issues.

B. Status of Documentation

Considered a source of prestige, personal papers of successful candidates are normally collected by research institutions. The longer and more successful an individual's career in office, the more likely his or her papers are to be solicited. Unsuccessful candidates are often forgotten, except in the files of their victorious opponents, which may contain campaign literature, news clippings, and strategy papers that discuss the defeated opponent. The location of collections of congressional papers is documented in two publications: *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789-1982* (under revision) and *Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives, 1789-1987*. Campaign materials are among the more problematic sources in collections of personal papers because they frequently are fragmented and incomplete. Often they are housed in scattered locations in the state, are lost track of, get recycled in the next campaign, and escape the regular records disposition programs of the officeholders. Records management guidance is available in the *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories*, but congressional archivists need to encourage members to direct their campaign staffs to preserve the materials and to make provision for disposition. Similar records management guidance is unavailable at present for House members.

Personal papers of party officials, journalists who cover campaigns, and political scientists are irregularly solicited by research institutions unless the individual is important in some additional fashion.

Campaign spending, personal finance, lobby and related reports are well maintained by the respective offices that receive them and are accessible to the public, the media, and to researchers. Indexing and records retrieval systems may vary from office to office together with the level of expertise of the office staffs in their ability to assist researchers. Records disposition procedures vary from state to state. The availability of this material could be enhanced by compiling comprehensive finding aids or guides.

Oral histories most frequently center on the careers of major political figures, often being undertaken following the donation of papers to a

repository or retirement from office. Such histories usually include questions relating to the individual's start in politics and campaigns for office. Few oral history projects, however, have had a broad enough scope to include campaign directors, local newspaper editors, and selected political consultants and advertisers. One reason is that the interview project often takes place many, many years after an individual's initial campaign.

Newspapers are widely available from various libraries, both on microfilm and in the original. Clippings files often exist as either a vertical file maintained by the library or a component of a personal or organizational collection. Clippings files in personal papers collections can be valuable, especially if they are well organized and include local coverage. Unfortunately, such files are usually not very well organized. Other media sources are discussed in Chapter V, Section IV.

Records of such organizations as political consulting firms, advertising firms and the League of Women Voters are not systematically evaluated for inclusion in archival repositories that specialize in political and congressional history collections. Records of interest groups are covered in the External Relations chapter. The lack of sources documenting activities of political consultants is cited as a major reason that political scientists have generally paid so little attention to them when analyzing political campaigns.¹⁷

Records of the League of Women Voters for the period from 1918 to 1974 are available on microform from University Publications of America. This publication is based on selected holdings of the Library of Congress and the League of Women Voters. It includes minutes and related documents of the board of directors and the executive committee, transcripts and national convention records, general council records, and national office subject files.

Documentation of political campaigns can also be found at the Smithsonian Institution's Division of Political History. A recent publication is *Hail to the Candidate, Presidential Campaigns from Banners to Broadcasts* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 224 pp.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Winning and losing candidates. Repositories interested in documenting recruitment and campaigns should consider collecting material from both unsuccessful candidates and elected officials. Selection criteria for collecting such papers might single out candidates in hotly contested, very interesting, or unique races. Repository archivists need to work closely with members of Congress to ensure the preservation of campaign records. Such records are frequently scattered in various places in the state and are not part of a regular disposition routine. In addition, fragile media (video and audio tapes of speeches, interviews, advertisements) comprise a significant portion of this material and are in need of proper storage and maintenance.

2. Party officials, journalists, and political scientists. Significant collections of such individuals should be identified and evaluated for inclusion with congressional research collections. A model collections development statement for congressional collections should include this source as pertinent.

3. Campaign finance data. A guide should be compiled that details the current and archival sources of campaign finance, personal finance, lobbying and related information that is available to the public and to scholars and how to access it. It should cover sources at the state and federal level. The guide should be made available to repositories specializing in documentation of Congress.

4. Oral history. Oral interviews are essential to the creation of a full documentary record of modern political life but are especially useful for documenting recruitment and an individual's private decision to seek public office. A facile answer, such as "I wanted to serve my state," may actually be the reason that motivated a candidate, but certainly at some point the individual running for

Congress had to weigh such other factors as: Would I enjoy the office, Can I win, and What changes will running and serving make in my life. Under careful questioning, a thoughtful respondent can add a great deal to the historical record, particularly regarding recruitment. Interviews also are useful for documenting more fully the campaign itself, which if hotly contested, causes strategies to be frequently adjusted, with little record kept of the changes. Because much of this is not captured in a written record, oral history becomes vital. In addition to the candidates and their campaign directors, other individuals who would be good subjects of interviews include family members, local newspaper editors, political advertisers, and colleagues from prior public service or business/professional background. Oral history projects should broaden their scope to include such relevant individuals.

5. Local news sources. Repositories that want to specialize in congressional/political collections will want to consider collecting records of local media because these are especially helpful in documenting local and statewide campaigns. A model collections development statement should include this source as pertinent.

6. Other organizations. Archivists should identify and evaluate records of organizations such as Leagues of Women Voters, political consultants, and political advertisers for possible inclusion with their congressional collections. While all records of all such organizations need not be preserved, a cooperative regional plan ensuring the preservation of representative organizations would save some critical resources and help to fill out the documentary record of Congress and the legislative/political process. Efforts should be made to collect major advertising sequences. To assist in this goal, pamphlets describing the materials sought by repositories could be prepared and used for solicitation purposes. A list of organizations by state or region should be drawn up.



Part III. Political Activities: National, State, and Local Political Parties; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Documentation of congressional political activity in the national, state, and local political parties resides in a variety of official party records and in the personal papers of party officials at all organizational levels. Material is also found in congressional campaign files, internal congressional party committee records, the papers of unsuccessful congressional candidates, and presidential papers. Additional materials may be located in the records of interest groups and political action committees, public relations firms, journalistic and news sources, state court and government records, and oral histories.

Official Party Records

American political parties function primarily as complex service organizations for nominating candidates, campaigning for office, organizing government, establishing political values, and advocating policy. Since the parties are decentralized in their organization, authority and responsibility are stratified through "layers of committees with overlapping boundaries and interlocking memberships."¹⁸ The national party organizations seemingly have less power within the party system than do the state and local organizations, which operate somewhat independently, as do the congressional and senatorial campaign committees. Traditionally, interaction among the various groups has taken place primarily at campaign time, although recent trends for protracted campaigning may promote more integration of the party organizations.

National committees are at the apex of the party organizational structure. The papers of the national committees reflect such activities as the work of the party leadership; fund raising and budgeting; issues and policy; campaign priorities and support; and interaction with congressional, state, and local party organizations. For example,

the official papers of the Republican National Committee (RNC) include the meeting records of the full committee, its executive committee, appointed special committees, and convention committees, as well as the reports and memoranda of the RNC's Research Division.

The national committees also provide information on congressional political activity. The subjects covered include both campaigning (fact books, position papers, speech materials, voting records of incumbents) and strategy (how-to manuals; handbooks for campaign managers, precinct workers, and telephone canvassers; and statistical analysis of voter registration, electoral participation, and voting patterns of specific groups). They also provide information on public relations services (speaker's bureau, speeches, press releases, policy statements, or contract with a commercial public relations firm); candidate and campaign staff training programs (finance laws, campaign techniques, briefings on issues, and technicalities of campaign management); and fund raising for campaigns.¹⁹

The national senatorial campaign committees and the national congressional campaign committees for each party provide assistance to members of Congress for election and reelection. Although these committees are based on Capitol Hill, they function separately from the internal congressional party units that assist in managing the House and Senate.

While members of the House and Senate compose the campaign committees, they employ professional staff who duplicate many of the services of the national party committees. Files from the campaign committees are especially important for documenting fund raising, interaction with political action groups, and support for candidates in contested primaries. Routinely, members are tapped to contribute to certain campaigns or a campaign committee speakers bureau. Financial contributions come from a member's political action committee (up to \$5,000 per donation) or his

personal account or own campaign committee (limited to \$1,000 per donation). Through contributions and personal appearances, members are increasingly becoming involved in the campaigns of their colleagues.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have state party organizations in each of the fifty states. Each state party has a central committee, a chairperson, and one or two vice-chairpersons. Most state parties maintain permanent headquarters. Beyond this basic structure, state parties vary in definition, organization, administration, function, and composition from state to state. A fully staffed headquarters can provide a range of services similar to that offered by the national committees: recruitment, campaign support, public relations, research, voter drives, and fund raising. A strong, well-organized state party is generally supported by effective local (county and precinct) party units.

It is difficult to generalize about local party organizations. They differ from place to place, and even the same unit may vary from time to time. In *Political Parties in America*, Robert J. Huckshorn describes these groups as "spiderwebs of interlocking districts and committees ranging from precincts to counties and usually meshing with constituent districts from which candidates are elected."²⁰

Records from state and local party organizations are most important for documenting recruitment, campaigning, elections, congressional redistricting, and patronage. Understandably, the better-organized groups are more likely to produce quality documentation.

Personal Papers of Party Officials

Because of the decentralization of the political party system, the personal papers of party officials, as opposed to institutional records of the party itself, can provide the richest resource for political documentation. In correspondence and memoranda, one is more apt to find information about the inner workings of the party machinery—recruitment, campaign strategy, the opposition, policy development, decision making, interaction with other party units, and patronage. If the official moved progressively through party ranks, the papers can reflect a truer image of that particular organization's boundaries of authority and power base than do the official party records.

For example, the University of Georgia Libraries' Richard B. Russell Memorial Library contains two noteworthy collections. Maxine S. Goldstein began her political career by working in several local community and civic clubs, specifically the Garden Club of America and the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. She was a member of the county Democratic committee for nine years before joining the Democratic party of Georgia. Within fifteen years, she had served as a member of the state executive committee, chair of her congressional district, acting chair and vice-chair of the state party, and president of the Georgia Federation of Democratic Women. Moving into national party activity, she served as a member of the DNC and its executive committee, the National Credential and National Platform committees. She has also been active as a campaign worker, fund raiser, and speaker. Her papers include correspondence; memoranda; speeches; printed material; research, briefing, and position papers; photographs; memorabilia; and news clippings from the various stages of her involvement in party affairs. In essence, the Goldstein Papers provide a view of grass-roots politics through three eventful decades of latter twentieth century American history.

The second collection, that of Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, documents a politically active businessman moving through party ranks and eventually winning a seat in the U. S. Congress. After his congressional service, Callaway went from local and state politics to the RNC, and he was selected by Richard Nixon to head his presidential campaign in the South. At the same time, he was chairman of the board of trustees of the patriotic organization Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge and president of the millionaire businessman's group Young President's Organization—both groups closely associated with the Republican party. Aside from his own congressional campaign, Callaway's papers include materials on local, state, regional, and national party organizations; candidate recruitment; congressional district races (Republican and Democratic candidates); issues and policy development; patronage; and fund raising.

Members' Papers

The congressional member's own papers, including the campaign committee and politically

designated staff, can demonstrate liaison with his or her political party. Any services provided by the local, state, or national party organizations will surface in correspondence, memoranda, research materials, publicity files, financial records, or campaign training materials. These files are especially significant for documenting the individual's political acumen and relationship with his or her party (priority for party support as a candidate and contributions to the election of others). Party-related political files may be located in the member's own papers, as well as in those of designated staff, campaign workers, and campaign headquarters.

Because each House member is usually the only federal official elected from a district, most representatives work to build and direct personal campaign organizations on the local level, giving their political files an important local dimension.

Additional Sources

The internal party units—such as the partisan leadership, policy committees, caucuses—are not part of the official party organizational structure. However, as partisan bodies they have files relating to congressional liaison with the political parties. (These groups are discussed in Parts IV and V of this chapter.)

The president serves as head of his political party. Congressional leadership is necessary for passage of the president's legislative program, and recent chief executives have shown a keen interest in actually campaigning for their party's congressional candidates. The political files of presidential papers document involvement with the national party committee and with congressional politics. (Further discussion is included in Chapter V, Part II.)

In exercising political influence, interest groups work to coordinate their activities with both the party organization and the political leadership. They may organize letter-writing campaigns or prepare policy booklets and brochures to help shape party platforms; issue rating indexes of incumbent officeholders' voting records opposing the group's goals; and make campaign contributions, generally through political action committees (PACs), to parties or directly to the candidates. (For further discussion see Chapter V, Part V.)

The research files and writings of political reporters and columnists, drawings by political cartoonists, and photograph files provide documentation of party recruitment and campaigns, personalities, issues, events, analysis, and party alliances. Television and radio stations and other media sources must maintain files on all paid political advertising. (Further discussion is included in Chapter V, Part IV.)

Some superior court case files document conflicts within parties. PACs must register with state government (in Georgia, the secretary of state's office); former Senator Herman E. Talmadge's staff used these files to build a prospective contributor list for one of his campaigns.

B. Status of Documentation

Official Party Records:

National Committees

In a 1983 *Prologue* article, Fynette Eaton discussed the status of the records of the Democratic and Republican National Committees up to that date.²¹ Through the interest of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) deposited its early organizational records from around 1930 to 1945 in the Roosevelt Library. However, it was not until the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 that the National Archives began a continuing effort to collect national committee records. By the end of the Eisenhower administration, both parties had been approached. The National Archives successfully acquired DNC records from 1952 to 1960 for the Kennedy presidential library, but similar negotiations with the Republican National Committee (RNC) for the Eisenhower Library failed. In the meantime, the Office of Presidential Libraries was established within the National Archives and given responsibility for negotiating with the two parties' committees. Finally, in 1965, the RNC deposited in the Eisenhower Library over 290 boxes of records dating from 1932 to 1965, and arrangements were made for duplicating audiovisual materials.

Despite these successes, it was not until the mid-to-late 1970s that both committees signed deposit agreements. Records are now transferred to the National Archives, but ownership and access control remain with the committees for ten years from deposit, after which the files are deeded over

to the United States. According to Eaton, the national committee files "constitute a rich resource for the study of the American political system, particularly its most important function, the quadrennial presidential nominating conventions."²²

The official papers of the RNC (Meetings, 1911-1980, and Reports and Memoranda of the Research Division, 1938-1980) are available on microfilm from University Publications of America. An extensive collection of DNC papers covering the years of the Lyndon Johnson administration are deposited in the Johnson Library. The papers were restricted initially because of the DNC's concern that use would be political, but this did not happen. Library staff also had difficulty locating the appropriate authority to grant research access. Now, all restrictions have been lifted, but to date the papers have had little use.

A survey of political party organization records was conducted by Ed Schamel of the Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives. It is reproduced in Appendix B.

National Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees

The campaign committees retain their records, and documentation may also be found in the files of House and Senate members of the committees, since there is no decisive policy on whether the records belong to the member who is chair or to the committee. Major obstacles to preserving this documentation include the lack of records management guidelines, access agreements, and deposit commitment from the committees. Since many of the services performed by these committees duplicate those provided by the national committees, corresponding files are also probably duplicative. On the other hand, these campaign committee files are extremely valuable for directly documenting congressional interaction with political parties. Typical committee records include summaries of legislative and campaign activities, reports on topics of interest to candidates, polling results, voting records, and other campaign related information.

State and Local Party Organizations

Some state and local party organizations have placed their records in archives, for example: the State Republican Party of Oklahoma's records from 1953-1983 are at the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collection; the State Central Committee of the Republican party of Michigan for the 1960s and 1970s are at the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan; and both the Democratic and Republican parties in South Carolina have placed records at the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina. Deposit of these records tends to be haphazard, however, and chances of long-term commitment vary with the organization of the party unit and the interest of the officers. Records often are removed or kept by party officials, because there is no central authority, staff turnover is usually high, and some of these organizations do not have a headquarters.

The University of Virginia's Special Collections Department has extensive material on the Democratic party of Virginia dating from the 1800s to the present. This material, however, is not a deposit from the state party itself but is scattered through numerous collections of individuals—both party officials and candidates. The two predominant collections are those of former U. S. Senators Harry F. Byrd, Sr. and Jr., whose political activities were closely allied with those of their state party.

Of special concern is the status of the papers of independent parties and temporary party coalitions. Little is known about the quality of documentation, and many groups disappear as quickly as they surface. Some papers do turn up in repositories, but collecting is haphazard and hardly represents a broad spectrum of the activity taking place. Because these groups tend to have a narrow ideological, class, or geographical base, they generally are formed around a leader and seldom develop a lasting structure.

Personal Papers of Party Officials

Generally, the papers of party officials that are collected are based on some activity other than the individual's role in the party organization. Party papers appear in such collections by accident and are therefore usually not complete. The documentary value of the party papers will depend upon

the person's position, length of service, and interests. There are, however, a few institutions that have begun to build collection strengths in this area because they are now functioning as congressional or political study centers or have collecting policies that define an interest in the political area. Here, documentation tends to be more valuable because collections complement each other. Such successful programs are based on pro-active policies in which archivists start working with donors while they are still serving in a party office or seek access through the donor to the party organization as a whole.

Senators' and Representatives' Papers

Next to those of the national committees, the political papers of members of Congress are perhaps the best managed and preserved of those relating to congressional interaction with political parties. Where a deposit commitment is made, the records are also generally accessible, with the possible exception of state or district campaign headquarters files. Efforts need to be made, however, to acquire and preserve the files of campaign managers.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Soliciting the parties.

While material related to congressional interaction with political parties is located in a variety of sources, little is known about archival appraisal or acquisition of such records nationwide or about expected use by researchers. The very nature of the American political system may hamper both the drafting of retention guidelines and their acceptance by an outside group, because it can be difficult to discern the inner workings of party organizations and the interaction of political activity between the levels of government. Archivists should consider the following suggested actions:

a) Because of the lack of centralization in the process at every level of party structure, archivists seeking to obtain long-term deposit commitments from political party organizations need to develop strategies to overcome such obstacles as high staff turnover, limited finances, and lack of interest.

b) Archivists must contact all units of the established parties, as well as temporary political asso-

ciations while they are active, and encourage them to save their records. Cooperative efforts are needed among repositories to obtain commitments for long-term deposit. Archivists must be willing to work with all levels of a party over a period of time to ensure the preservation of worthwhile documentation. Perhaps the Congressional Archivists Roundtable would prepare a solicitation pamphlet directed at political parties that emphasized the need to collect the records of campaign managers.

c) Since the national committees have made a long-term deposit commitment with the National Archives, the Congressional Archivists Roundtable should urge them to encourage their respective state and local organizations to make similar commitments with appropriate institutions.

2. Survey. A comprehensive, systematic survey should be undertaken to discover the appraisal, acquisition, and use of political party papers and thus assess the status of documenting the political function of Congress. While the papers of the national committees may be a rich source for documentation of the American political system, those at the Johnson Library have received little use, even though social protest had a tremendous influence on the system during the Johnson administration. There could be a number of possible explanations for this underutilization. Is there so much duplication between the services provided by the national committees and those offered by other groups that sources just as rich are more readily available elsewhere? Are the sources not well known and therefore not frequently used? Are party sources in other institutions used more effectively? If so, why?

3. Minor parties. Archivists must actively solicit the papers of minor parties, ad hoc party groups, interest groups, and PACs. Losing candidates should also be included when warranted, for example, if effective documentation could help to measure their influence on mainstream politics. A survey of literature or of researchers using these sources could help in developing appraisal guidelines.

4. Coordinated effort. Congressional archivists should investigate the possibility of creating a coordinated national effort at documenting political parties. They should consider, for example, whether such coordination would make possible

systematic preservation of political party collections in selected states, cities or regions. At a minimum, a guide to the locations of party organization records should be compiled. An interested institution should consider applying for a grant from such organizations as the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the National Endowment for the Humanities, or the Mellon Foundation to carry out such a project.

5. Model congressional collections policy statement. Such a statement should be prepared and should include advice on the acquisition of political party records.

6. Oral history. Oral history projects should be seriously considered by institutions specializing in congressional documentation. Interviews with candidates, congressional staff, campaign workers, party officials, and others would help to document the inner workings of party organizations and their power structure as well as behind-the-scenes political maneuvering. Projects should begin early in the repository's relationship with the donor and be broadly based, focusing, for example, on "the life and times of Congressperson X."

Part IV. Political Activities: Leadership, Party Caucuses, Political Records in Members' Offices and Committees; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

House and Senate Leadership

Congressional political activity centers most visibly on the leadership and the party caucuses. The House has more formal rules than does the Senate, which has been governed more by precedent than by written code. The House organizes itself under the leadership of the majority party, choosing the Speaker, the majority leader, the majority whip, and the various components of those offices. The majority caucus—which in recent history has been the Democratic caucus—elects candidates for these offices (the whip only since 1982). The elections are then ratified on the floor at the convening of each Congress and as vacancies occur during the course of each session.

Since the 1970s, the Speaker, in addition to presiding over the House, has been vested with greater appointive powers than previously, harkening back to a much earlier day. For example, Democratic reforms in 1974 moved the powers of the Committee on Committees from the Ways and Means Committee to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee chaired by the Speaker. Since 1975, the Speaker also nominates the chair and majority members of the Committee on Rules, thus bringing that panel—and its control over floor action—under the authority of the leadership. In addition to his legislative role, the Speaker has certain administrative responsibilities for the House and the Capitol Building.

The majority leader is responsible for moving the daily program of the House, while the Speaker presides over those deliberations. The majority leader also assists in setting the legislative schedule and acting as party spokesperson. The whip has the responsibility for ascertaining the policy positions of the party's members as well as for rounding up votes. The whip office, in particular,

has expanded in recent years to include not only deputy and at-large whips, but also certain task forces pertaining to particular issues before the chamber. Leaders and whips direct the continual coalition building necessary to create a majority to support the party's platform.

The House minority leader guides the "loyal opposition" in that chamber. The individual in that position is responsible for presenting the party's alternative viewpoint. The minority whip assists in that party's head counts, vote round-ups, and attendance checks. The minority caucus chooses the individuals to serve in these posts.

The Senate is led by the two parties' floor leaders with support from assistant floor leaders (called the whip by the Democrats), and the conference secretaries. The Senate is governed by informal as well as formal rules. In that highly collegial body, the powers of the majority leader are neither so broad nor so absolute as those of the majority leadership in the House. Historically, since World War II, the Senate has been led by the Democratic party more frequently than by the Republican party, though not as continuously as in the case of the House. As in the House, the two parties organize themselves somewhat differently.

Senate Democrats, in addition to the floor leader, whip, and secretary of the conference, have four deputy whips, a steering committee that acts as the committee on committees, and a policy committee. The floor leader chairs both the steering and the policy committees, as well as the Democratic Conference (with a co-chair since 1989). Senate Republicans have more individuals in these posts, with chairs of the policy committee, the Republican Conference, and the committee on committees separate from the floor leader.

Senators are historically more independent of party organization than are House members. Because the Senate has fewer members, it has not

needed the detailed rules necessary for the smooth operation of the House. Since senators have been loath to invest their leaders with powers that dilute the prerogatives of the individual member, the Senate leadership of the two parties generally works together more closely than is the case in the House. For example, the Senate expedites floor passage of its noncontroversial legislation on the basis of unanimous consent.

An informal but significant practice in the Senate allows senators anonymously to place "holds" on bills. Under this device, a senator may lodge a "hold" with party leaders to indicate that he or she wants to be informed before a specific measure is brought to the floor. The procedure signals leaders and sponsors that a member may have an objection and should be consulted. Records of "holds" are maintained in the Republican secretary's office and in the Senate Democratic Policy Committee.²³

The leadership functions of both houses fall into five major categories. The leadership:

- **Assists in the organization of the party to conduct business.** This function includes selecting leaders and making committee assignments.
- **Schedules the business that comes to the floor of the House and Senate.**
- **Ensures attendance on the floor.** This function is primarily the work of the whip office.
- **Collects and disseminates information.** This task, too, falls primarily to the whip organizations, largely by surveying individual members' attitudes.
- **Maintains liaison with the White House** concerning executive policy. Naturally, the leaders of the president's party are more likely than the opposition leaders to carry out this function. On occasion, however, the president consults selected leaders or members of the opposition on matters of national import and to foster goodwill.

Leadership collections include daily schedules, committee assignment files, head counts, joint leadership session information, correspondence with members, and staff files that document legislative strategies and the role of leaders as party spokesmen. Majority leadership collections also include the aspects of those offices dealing with

such Capitol business as appointing members to observer groups, task forces, and inter-parliamentary groups.

Caucuses

The party caucuses or conferences elect committee chairs and ranking minority members and work to influence party agendas, positions, and legislative results within each chamber. They provide information to members in the form of briefing materials on coming floor activities, take positions on issues, and work with committee and party leaders in policy and strategy deliberations. They can play the role of catalyst or perform as a core working group.²⁴

Records of party caucuses document the political aspects of Congress' work. Memoranda, study papers, and transcripts or minutes of meetings may all reveal background information that is not otherwise available about the political role of caucuses.

Politics in Committees

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the actions of House committees generally reflected the personal wishes of the committee chairs. Seniority, or length of service, determined who would serve as chairs and ranking minority members, as well as individual standings within the committees. Since such a seniority system favored southern representatives from solidly Democratic districts who were consistently reelected, a degree of divergence developed, over time, between the goals and policies of many committee chairs and those of the congressional and national party leadership. Reforms adopted in the 1970s diminished the powers of committee chairs, moving some of those responsibilities to the subcommittee level and others to the leadership. In addition, committee chairs are now selected by the majority party caucus, rather than entirely on the basis of seniority, encouraging chairs to be more accountable to their party.

The personal papers of committee, subcommittee, and task force chairs and ranking members often reveal the political considerations and pressures affecting their actions. Memoranda and briefing materials prepared by staff analyze the political consequences of decisions and issues and recommend courses of action. Frequently a staff

director or chief counsel of a committee or subcommittee may prepare documents evaluating the political—as opposed to the technical—aspects of committee business, and such records can be particularly valuable for documenting political considerations.

Members and Their Staffs

In recent years, individual members of Congress, irrespective of their seniority, have had more influence than in the past. Reforms in the House have brought individual members prerogatives hitherto reserved to the committee chairs or the leadership, especially regarding subcommittee work and floor action on bills. While senators have always possessed extensive individual privileges, changes there have enabled freshmen members to be heard more than in the past. Members who do not serve in leadership posts are also politically active, interacting with the leadership, their party caucus, their constituents, the administration, and interest groups.

There is a political dimension to virtually all aspects of congressional affairs: formulating legislation, reviewing nominations, passing a budget, allocating committee assignments, and making appointments to commissions and observer groups. Members must continually evaluate the impact of particular issues on their constituents and on their own standing. This ever-present dimension becomes especially evident during floor debates over controversial issues and when member voting follows party lines.

Members operate politically both within and outside of the congressional party structure. Some gain power and influence by following the mores and practices of the respective house, while others play to a larger audience in the nation as a whole. By choosing either path, members may find themselves collaborating with or opposing floor leaders or committee chairs. Each member must determine the appropriate risks to take in balancing individual or district politics against those of the congressional party. In all of these activities, records that help document political activity are produced.

Congressional Staff

The staff of members and committees play an important role in the operation of the congressional

office. Some staffers have served on Capitol Hill longer than the member for whom they work. They possess subject area expertise and professional contacts that can be used to exert great influence over programs and policy. Records maintained by staff, as they work to build consensus on issues and evaluate the potential impact of a given issue on the members and the members' constituencies, are important sources for documenting political activity.

B. Status of Documentation

Leadership Offices

As pointed out in the *Congressional Papers Project Report* (1986),²⁵ papers of the leadership are among the most important for documenting the political activities of Congress. A complete collection will record organization within Congress, scheduling of business and agenda-setting, attendance checks for votes and "head counts" of support for measures, the role of the leadership in providing essential and timely information to party members, interactions with the other party leaders, and liaison with the White House. Leadership collections, however, are not necessarily complete or preserved and made available for research. The quality of a collection depends on the desires of the leader with regard to preserving a documentary record. Some leaders are uninterested, others have not focused attention on the matter, and still others purposely create little documentation on the theory that written communication is more cumbersome and less effective than oral communication.

Caucuses

As of this writing, the Senate Democratic Conference minutes for the years 1903 to 1962 have been transferred to the Center for Legislative Archives, and the Senate Republican Conference minutes will be transferred in the near future. House caucus records apparently have not been preserved for this earlier period and therefore have not been transferred to the Archives. Some material relating to caucus activities exists in members' papers collections, and some documentation undoubtedly remains in Capitol Hill offices. For full discussion, see Part V of this chapter.

Committees and Subcommittees

The personal papers of members who serve as committee and subcommittee chairs are rich sources for the political considerations that affect legislation. Committee records can also contain political information, most prominently in the form of evaluations of political issues in staff memos. In addition to such formal committee actions as votes, hearings, and reports that reflect political evaluation and decision making, certain committee staff can also be responsible for evaluating the political impact of matters under review. The records of these staff members—usually chief counsels and staff directors—often elude archivists. While records resulting from staff work on legislation and oversight are defined under rules of both houses as belonging to the committee of the respective body, many politically oriented staff regard the material they produce as private property belonging either to them or to the member. If the member has not made a point of obtaining this material for his or her collection, these records are likely to depart Congress with the staff member.

Individual Members and Their Staff

Collections of all members, regardless of whether they served in leadership posts, contain documentation of political activities, especially matters relating to patronage, interaction with the leadership, votes on controversial nominations and treaties, and such areas as defense, social, or domestic policies. The quality of documentation in each case rests on the quality of records management and on the member's level of interest.

Individual staff members frequently leave the congressional staff at campaign time to serve as campaign managers. These people often serve as the administrative assistant (AA), responsible for evaluating the political impact of events and issues on the member and constituents. The quality of political documentation again rests in large part on records management and ownership policies within each office and on the dedication of political staff in maintaining such records.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Leadership records.

Collection and preservation of leadership records, including those of

committee and subcommittee chairs, should be systematized and regularized. Because these collections are crucial for documenting the political activities of Congress, efforts should be made to ensure that they are preserved. A separate pamphlet should be prepared addressing the records of leadership positions, for use by repositories interested in preserving these collections and by the historical offices within Congress seeking to publicize the need to preserve these collections. Congressional archivists should consider such other activities as a congressional archival fellowship program.

2. Political information in committee records. Consideration should be given to establishing some internal mechanism for evaluating files whose ownership is in dispute, to determine whether they should be retained with the committee archive or the member's papers. Committee staff frequently retain politically sensitive information, either for their own use or for subsequent inclusion with the member's collection. If a mechanism cannot be established, all research repositories receiving material that clearly is identifiable as committee-generated should cooperate with the House or Senate by identifying and perhaps returning the material. In cases where such material is inextricably mixed with a member's office records, the records should be identified and the archivists in Congress notified. Where possible, copies should be made of pertinent files and the originals returned to Congress.

3. Political records of House members. Guidance for the disposition of such records should be compiled and distributed by the appropriate House office. The revised *Records Management Handbook* for senators covers disposition of records documenting political activities.

4. Cooperation with political and campaign staff. Archivists should be especially active in identifying a member's political and campaign staff early, in order to work with them in documenting campaigns and recruitment. Because much of their work is conducted verbally, such individuals are especially good candidates for oral history interviews.

5. Records of scholars. Scholars who study congressional leadership and Congress accumulate valuable documentation in the course of their research and writing. These collections should be

actively sought and evaluated. If the records include interviews with leaders, a release establishing copyright will be needed. As professors move between institutions, they may not retain and transport to the new office the records gathered in the creation of a past project. Any model congressional collections policy statement should include this recommendation.

6. Documentation by repository. The individual repository should also act to create its own documentation of Congress at work. A self-contained clipping service, gathering local newspaper and ephemeral materials, could supplement the existing collections or otherwise further their special focus. An active well-defined oral history program is a more expensive method of supplementing the written record but may be begun in stages. It would be helpful to devise a model congressional oral history

project statement that outlines the scope of a comprehensive project, broken down into workable stages.

7. Cooperation among institutions. An active stance in collection development and documentation can also be furthered through cooperative efforts among sister institutions sharing the same interests. Such efforts might include devising a complementary appraisal and retention strategy that stresses the importance of political sources, sharing efforts to contact and form agreements with entire state congressional delegations, deciding on collecting areas of specialization that would result in a more comprehensive and selective historical record of Congress, or even sharing staff expertise if trips to Capitol Hill became necessary for records management purposes. Congressional archivists should devise a statement outlining a cooperative documentation strategy.



Part V. Political Activities: Congressional Membership Organizations; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Congressional membership organizations (CMOs) are composed of members of Congress. Almost all members join voluntarily, but political party leaders may appoint members to party policy organizations. CMOs are sometimes established by the Senate or House to function as bi-partisan working groups which may possess some investigative powers but lack the legislative authority of committees. Members are usually appointed to such groups by party leaders. CMOs variously function as priority-setting groups, interest groups, policy research organizations, or quasi-congressional committees in promotion of a cause or special policy area. They may be called policy committees, caucuses, coalitions, informal groups, or ad hoc task forces. While there is great variation among CMOs, they fall into three general categories: legislative service organizations (LSOs), party policy organizations (part of the leadership apparatus), and caucuses.

CMOs help to establish legislative priorities (the party and leadership CMOs) and provide members of Congress with legislative services (the issue-oriented CMOs), including policy analysis, digests of pending bills, talking points, seminars, voting records, and a variety of publications useful for floor speeches, press releases, or even campaign speeches. Many of these same functions are also performed to some extent by committees and subcommittees, and certain CMOs vie with committees as a forum for congressional policy-making.

Both parties in the House and Senate maintain CMOs. Some work closely with the party leadership to establish agendas, assist with whip duties, and serve as an executive committee in establishing goals for the party caucus. Other CMOs are regional or issue oriented. Many are informal—they meet irregularly, have no set agenda, and exist in a functional sense only when their members perceive a need for them. Others are formal-

ized organizations that are relatively well staffed and funded and engage in regular meetings or seminars. Some sponsor extensive publication programs that include newsletters or monographs.

The need for organizations within Congress that focus exclusively on policy-making and analysis has long been recognized. In 1946 the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress (the La Follette-Monroney Committee) recommended that policy committees funded by legislative appropriations be established in both parties. Congress responded only slowly and haltingly to this call for policy organizations, but momentum grew during the 1970s and 1980s.

By the 102nd Congress, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the Library of Congress counted "at least 121" CMOs, up from its count of 114 during the 101st Congress. However, as CRS points out, "the non-official status and informal nature of some CMOs make it virtually impossible to keep current with their exact number."²⁶

Even the precise definition of CMO is open to differing opinions. CRS and a number of scholars regard CMOs as comprising only "informal groups". However, this definition excludes organizations established and sponsored by political parties that are funded by appropriations and are not permitted funds from other sources. Such groups are "official" inasmuch as they receive appropriated funds.

While sources of information on CMOs will be covered later in this report, it is clear that establishing their very existence can be difficult. Tracking the evolution of their functions and documentation is even harder because specific CMO organizational characteristics and functions vary greatly with circumstances and leadership. For analytical purposes, the CMOs can be grouped as follows:

Legislative Service Organizations (LSOs) (House): Must be organized by representatives

and meet House of Representatives reporting requirements; funded by members; produce publications and other services for "dues-paying" members; emphasize reporting; track status of some bills and provide background research.

Party Policy Organizations (House and Senate): Organized by the leadership of the Republican or Democratic party in the House or Senate; funded by legislative appropriations; produce publications and other services for all members of Congress in that party; focus on bill status and issues of great importance to the party.

Caucuses (House and Senate): Must be organized by representatives or senators; have no reporting requirements in either chamber; may be funded by members of the House; although Senate rules prohibit senatorial contributions, "outside" (i.e., private) sources of funding are acceptable; provide publications and other services for members; emphasize ideological or other interest; focus on bill status.

Legislative Service Organizations: House of Representatives

Though Legislative Service Organizations (LSOs) as a functional entity have been a part of the congressional landscape since at least the early 1970s, they were not formally recognized until 1982, when the Committee on House Administration adopted regulations that specifically defined LSOs. As such, they exist only in the House.

According to these rules, LSOs must be composed of members of Congress and provide services solely for members; must receive funds from supporting members of Congress and/or the House and not accept funding from outside sources; and must comply with quarterly disclosure requirements. Because LSOs are supported through contributions from members (rather than appropriated funds), they specifically serve their benefactors as "dues-paying" members.

Oversight is provided by the staff of the House Administration Committee's Finance Subcommittee. A financial management officer for the subcommittee oversees the operation of the clerk's records and registration operations for LSOs. LSO regulations are more specifically described in a 1982 committee print of the House Committee on Administration.²⁷

Senators may join CMOs, although they cannot, under Senate rules, use office funds for mem-

bership. In the Senate, caucuses provide some of the legislative services that LSOs supply in the House.

Because LSOs provide a vehicle for members of Congress to influence policy from outside the party leadership structure, and due to the prohibition against LSOs receiving funds from appropriations of private (non-member) sources, numerous LSOs are completely unattached to parties. These groups can be issue oriented, industry oriented, geographically based, or national-constituency based (e.g., blacks, women, Vietnam-era veterans). At least two LSOs claim to be almost apolitical in the sense that they provide policy expertise rather than political judgments. The Environmental and Energy Conference claims that it does not take *any* positions—"This is strictly journalism." The Clearinghouse for the Future attempts to provide dispassionate analysis of issues thought to have tremendous future potential.

Other LSOs make no such explicit claims, but virtually all play down ideology and partisan politics and emphasize professionalism. The House Wednesday Group, for instance, was established for moderate Republican members of Congress who desired policy analysis beyond that provided by the leadership-dominated Republican Policy and Research Committees. During the early 1980s, some Wednesday Group members—known as "gypsy moths"—attempted to moderate Reagan administration positions. Even the Wednesday Group, however, largely focuses on perspectives and initiatives thought to be overlooked, rather than on ideology.

The reporting requirements for LSOs generate some basic documentation. The reports, dating back to 1980, are available to the public on microfilm at the Office of Records and Registration. The paper originals are forwarded to the National Archives at the end of every Congress. The reports detail the organization's name, address, and telephone number; the names of officers (chairman and co-chairman, always members of Congress); staff members and their salaries; as well as information on receipts, disbursements, and services rendered to members (e.g., publications). Receipts are itemized on "Schedule A", and include dues, clerk-hire contributions, and special assessments charged groups for services rendered. Disbursements are similarly itemized on a separate schedule.

Legislative services provided to members are itemized under "General Description of Legislative Services or Other Assistance Provided by the Legislative Service Organization to Its Members During the (Number) Quarter of (Year)." LSOs appear to have some discretion over the level of detail they report, but they tend to report fairly fully on their activities.

The most active LSO is the Democratic Study Group (DSG), whose mission, according to one official, is to help its members "avoid surprises" by identifying controversial points of legislation in a timely fashion. DSG's focus on legislative status is apparent from its publications. The *Legislative Report* and the *Daily Report* provide summaries of issues and updates of the schedule. The *Daily Report* includes amendments that are likely to come to the floor, especially if they may be controversial. The *Fact Sheet* covers in much more depth issues that are very briefly outlined in the *Legislative Report*. Viewpoints of proponents and opponents are detailed here. The *Staff Bulletin* concentrates on committee work. Of the various publications, only the *Special Reports* are explicitly partisan and reflect the liberal orientation of the DSG. As one staffer commented, "These are Democrats talking to each other." These reports are issued more regularly and are of greater length toward the end of the session, especially toward the end of the Congress when the "collective temperature rises around here."

Each LSO is governed by an "executive board" or similar group composed of members. The chairman signs the quarterly disclosure forms in keeping with House rules, but members of Congress generally are not involved with day-to-day operations of the LSOs. Virtually all administrative matters, ranging from office supplies to editorial decisions, are left to staff members. LSOs recruit their board members, who serve for only one Congress and cannot succeed themselves. As one staffer says of the chairmen of LSOs, "They have other fish to fry." As a result, the boards meet infrequently, and any minutes kept are informal and not generally thought to be open to the public.

Some LSOs file forms with the Office of Records and Registration but show no activity. The Military Reform Caucus, for example, filed as an LSO for first quarter 1991, but showed no officers, receipts or activity. It did list an address: 307 Cannon HOB.

"Privatized" LSOs

LSOs that wish to communicate with constituencies beyond members of Congress sometimes seek to derive funds from private sources. Because they cannot take money from anyone but a member of Congress and cannot use the frank, they must find some alternate method. The mechanism adopted by several LSOs is the private "institute," a not-for-profit organization located in private office space, usually close to Capitol Hill. These institutes sell subscriptions to lobbyists, lawyers and others who need the services. The DSG, for example, established the Democratic Study Center, an associate group that reproduces DSG materials on a subscription basis. Examples of LSOs with affiliated private organizations are listed below:

LSO	Private Organization
Congressional Black Caucus	Congressional Black Caucus Foundation
Democratic Study Group	Democratic Study Center
Environmental & Energy Study	Environmental & Energy Study Institute Conference
Northeast-Midwest	Northeast-Midwest Institute Congressional Coalition

Party Policy Organizations: House and Senate

Political parties in both bodies operate CMOs dedicated to the formation of party policies. While leadership-appointed steering committees advise on which measures should be taken up and when, policy groups generally research legislation and recommend positions. In general, the policy organizations are malleable and change in accordance with the views of their chairmen and the party leadership in each chamber.

The following organizations serve as the standard bearers of their political parties. Major series of documents they produce are parenthetically identified.

HOUSE

House Democratic Caucus (statements dealing with selected major issues)

House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee

LSOs: Democratic Study Group (issue reports, digests, fact sheets, weekly schedules)

House Republican Conference (statements, resolutions, journal of proceedings since 1910, legislative digest, issue briefs)

House Republican Policy Committee (policy statements on upcoming legislation)

House Republican Research Committee (issue reports)

LSOs: Wednesday Group (background reports on major issues)

Study Committee (issue reports, bulletins)

House Democrats depend upon a number of caucuses and LSOs for setting priorities and providing an array of legislative services. Chief among these groups are the Democratic Caucus and the Democratic Study Group (DSG). The DSG has roughly the same membership as the Democratic Caucus and works very closely with the leadership. The powerful DSG has worked to effect changes in the rules governing the selection of committee chairs and with the caucus to develop budget resolutions. It is a primary source of information about bill status. Roughly fifty Republicans also pay to receive the information services of the DSG. Thus, as one DSG source put it, the information many members have about legislation, "they know from us; we translate bills into King's English."

House Republicans have created a leadership structure that places the Conference at the center of a process that, in turn, is built on the work of the Research and Policy committees. The Wednesday Group and the Study Committee provide indirect but nonetheless substantial input into the policy-making process.

The Republican Conference organizes meetings, "conferences," among Republican leaders and cabinet secretaries, representatives of the president, or other major actors in policy formation. The minutes of the conferences are kept by a secretary as the journal of the House Republican Conference. The journal is approved by the Conference counsel, is closed to the public, and is maintained by the Conference in its offices and storerooms.

The Conference provides Republican members with a weekly *Legislative Digest*, which lists and analyzes bills and related matters, including administration positions and possible amendments. It produces a *Directory* at the beginning of each Congress that lists general membership, the membership of the research and policy committees, the organization of the Republican leadership in the House, and also usually the Conference rules.

In 1949, the House Republicans converted their Steering Committee (est. 1910) into the Republican Policy Committee. Amid debate on whether the Policy Committee should focus on the production of research papers or concentrate on the development of Republican strategies on various issues, the committee attempted for a number of years to fulfill both missions. Activities of the Policy Committee were apparently rather slight until, in 1959, a Special Projects Subcommittee was created. The subcommittee was charged with conducting long-term research projects, and this activity apparently invigorated the committee's role as a consensus-builder. This research function was eventually moved to the Research Committee, and today the Policy Committee concentrates on building a consensus among Republican members on specific issues or bills that may receive action in the near term. Despite its long history, the Republican policy apparatus has been examined only slightly in relevant literature.²⁸

The Policy Committee produces two types of documents: statements, which are rather like press releases, for Republican members of the House and resolutions, which address a specific issue or piece of legislation and are used as a vehicle for arriving at a consensus. The Policy Committee has retained most of its statements, resolutions, and related materials in a storeroom close to its offices. None of these records are sent to the National Archives.

Resolutions and statements are quasi-public. Although it is possible to access such records in the offices of the Policy Committee, the committee views them as "internal" records of largely temporary significance and has not focused on the question of historical use. No transcripts are prepared of Policy Committee meetings, as there is no stenographer present. Since staff members only rarely attend these meetings, there is little opportunity for the production of formal "minutes." Committee staffers do, however, maintain reading or working files of correspondence and other

materials. Members sometimes take notes as needed, and it is possible that these notes of staffers and members may be commingled with their private papers.

Documentation of the Research Committee consists primarily of the issue brief and a newsletter. Issue briefs function very much like their similarly named counterparts produced by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress: they briefly outline an issue and its salient points and provide critical data that can be used by members as talking points. The newsletter—which has been issued rather sporadically and is currently not being published—is used to communicate recent work of the Research Committee to Republican members. Back files of the Newsletter are not extensive, but those that exist are stored on Capitol Hill not at the National Archives.

The Research Committee published more in prior years than it does today. A series of colored "books" on various topics (e.g., a red book, a green book, etc.) has given way to the current chairman's desire for less formal reports that are researched and written by the task forces formed by the chairman and thus reflect his views and priorities. The task forces, which study issues thought to be of special importance, do much of the research and writing for the Research Committee.

The House Wednesday Group is an excellent example of an LSO that, by its very nature, exists outside the leadership circle. Composed of thirty-six generally moderate Republicans, the Wednesday Group works on the periphery of Republican politics in the House. It does not necessarily serve as a consensus-building organization for its membership, and, unlike the more conservative Republican Study Committee, it does not make recommendations about how its members should vote on particular pieces of legislation. Rather, the organization provides background, ideas, and perspectives that members may not find elsewhere. Indeed, as the executive director points out, the Wednesday group does not appear to be as partisan in orientation as the Republican Study Committee and other LSOs. In fact, the director downplays the extent to which ideology plays any role at the Wednesday Group, since the group has a wide-ranging list of members who simply do not fit comfortably elsewhere in the party.

The Wednesday Group does not keep transcripts or minutes of meetings, but like other LSOs, it occasionally joins with research institutes ("think tanks") to sponsor conferences and publish the resulting proceedings. As with other organizations, the group's relationship with public affairs institutes is enhanced by the fact that staffers sometimes come from or move to such outside sources. The Wednesday Group's executive director, for example, came to his position from the American Enterprise Institute.

The Wednesday Group rarely holds press conferences or issues press releases. According to the executive director, this aggressive approach to policy-making is simply not the group's "style." Despite this low-profile self-image, there is clearly some frustration that they are not noticed more by the media and the Republican leadership in Congress and the White House.

Issue Reports are published by the Wednesday Group on an ad hoc but fairly consistent basis. The reports serve as a way of analyzing policy issues and advancing legislative proposals, but they do not usually analyze day-to-day legislative issues or track the progress of legislation through the legislative calendar. While the Wednesday Group's policy focus is broad, it tends to concentrate on domestic policy, about which it has access to information. Foreign policy presents a problem because there is less access to data and the group is even more likely to be overshadowed by the Senate and the president.

Generally more conservative than the Republican Conference structure, the Republican Study Committee serves its "dues-paying members," those who provide financing through their clerk-hire budgets, and only secondarily serves the regular Republican membership in the House. The committee produces reports that are similar in form and format to the Research Committee's reports—issue-oriented, providing background, with some specific policy recommendations—but are written from a more conservative perspective.

SENATE

Senate Republican Policy Committee (issue reports, vote analyses, notices)

Republican Conference (summaries of administration views, legislative updates)

Republican Conference Secretary (minutes, since 1911)

Senate Democratic Policy Committee (legislative bulletins, reports, vote analyses)

Democratic Conference Secretary (minutes, since 1903)

As in many other matters, there are vast differences between the House and the Senate in the area of CMOs. CMOs constitute a much more significant influence on policy in the House than do the Senate's similar groups, which are often little more than informal luncheon groups. Much more can happen on the floor of the Senate, where amendments are unlimited and need not be germane, as is required in the House. Consequently, party committees in the Senate concentrate on establishing agendas, researching proposed legislation, recommending positions, and providing floor services. These latter services include legislative reports, summaries, and most importantly information requested by the members during debates and supplied on the spot by committee staff.

In the Senate, where rules are less specific and the development of policy more free form, neither Republicans nor Democrats have created the kind of issue-oriented policy apparatus available in the House. Still, like its counterpart in the House, the Senate Republican Conference keeps minutes of caucus meetings and arranges for Senate Republican leaders to meet on important issues with members of the administration and others important in policy formation. The Senate Republican Policy Committee also produces research papers that provide a Republican perspective on contemporary issues facing the Senate and outline talking points for Senate Republicans. An in-house television channel is also maintained.

Like their counterparts in the House, Senate Democrats rely on a caucus, the Democratic Conference, to organize each Congress, to arrange meetings, and to perform other policy-related functions. There is also a Democratic Policy Committee (DPC) that produces voting records and policy papers to provide a Democratic perspective and talking points. Legislative scheduling and the development of floor strategy are important functions of the DPC, which distributes legislative bulletins and reports over the Senate LEGIS data base. At times the DPC has served as an executive

committee of the Democratic Conference, as an educational forum by hosting outside experts at briefings for members, and as a vehicle to coordinate efforts with committee chairs. It develops agendas, sponsors seminars and retreats, distributes publications, and maintains an in-house television station that broadcasts scheduling information from the leadership and other messages.

Meetings of the Senate Republican Conference and the Senate Democratic Conference are closed. Research papers of the respective policy committees are generally available to the public on a selective basis determined by the staffs of the committees. Minutes of the Democratic Conference have been maintained by its secretary since 1903. The Republican Conference secretary has maintained minutes since 1911.

Caucuses: House and Senate

In addition to the official party caucuses in each house there are a number of informal caucuses. These caucuses are generally issue oriented and less formally organized than either LSOs or party policy organizations. Without the reporting requirements of LSOs and the structure provided party policy organizations by the leadership of each party, issue caucuses lack any consistent organizational framework. Although they have at times served as a conduit for campaign contributions and other forms of influence from lobbyists and others outside Congress, caucuses are established by members of Congress to provide for their needs and interests.

The most cohesive and active caucuses (e.g., the Black Caucus) are LSOs. These caucuses are the ones most likely to produce policy related services to their members similar to those provided by the party policy committees. Although non-LSO caucuses have grown with the proliferation of interests, they are not typically active. That is, they publish very little, maintain few files, and meet irregularly.

Documentation for such caucuses is even more elusive than for the other types of CMOs. No disclosure or other reporting is required in either the House or the Senate. Though caucuses are not formally financed through contributions from the clerk-hire budgets of members, any work performed by the caucuses is usually undertaken by staff members or fellows assigned to the offices of

members. Caucuses, especially in the Senate, are often informal, communicating with other members through memoranda, "Dear Colleague" letters, or informal meetings. Correspondence and other records are usually scattered among the office files of members or are removed by the staff when they depart.

Directories, Bibliographies, and Other Aids

CMOs are infrequently even mentioned in scholarly literature or other media reports, and substantial independent analysis of CMOs as an influence on policy making is still being conducted. Information on CMO publications does not appear in the principal guides to United States government documents. Library and information journals rarely if ever publish articles on this source of policy analysis. Bibliographies devoted exclusively to Congress neglect the few works that are available to the public. Even those few items printed by the Government Printing Office are regarded as outside the domain of the Superintendent of Documents (SuDoc) system and, thus, of GPO's government depository libraries.

There are currently several directories or other publications that provide information on CMOs. In the public domain, only one reasonably comprehensive directory of CMOs has been published. The Congressional Research Service publishes an *Informational Directory* which lists the name of each CMO (with the name of its predecessor, if any), the date it was created or reorganized, the name of the executive or staff director, and the organization's telephone number and address. Initially prepared in April 1987 as a CRS issue brief, the directory has grown more comprehensive through its three editions. However, the *Informational Directory* is not a ready source for most researchers because CRS does not ordinarily make its publications available to the public.

Two less comprehensive privately published sources are updated periodically. The *Congressional Yellow Book*, published by the Monitor Publishing Company, provides partial coverage of what it calls "Congressional Leadership and Member Organizations." While it does not provide coverage for all CMOs, it does provide information on a number of offices that function directly or indirectly as a part of the leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties in Con-

gress. These include, for example, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, both of which are dedicated to the election of Senators from the respective political parties. The much relied-upon *Congressional Staff Directory*, published by Staff Directories, Ltd., provides partial listings of CMOs under various headings at the end of sections on Senate and House committees.

Congressional Information Service, Inc. (CIS) publishes *Congressional Member Organizations and Caucuses: Publications and Policy Materials*. Each annual edition includes a variety of materials produced during the previous year. The first edition, published in late summer 1992, includes materials produced during 1991. Also included is a list of all CMOs, membership data, and dates organized. An index and an accompanying full-text microfiche collection of documents provides comprehensive coverage.

B. Status of Documentation

The clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate do not collect office files of CMOs, which are therefore not available at the National Archives. Publications and other materials that are open to the public are generally available at CMO offices.

Party organizations that are funded through legislative appropriations are at least indirectly mandated to transfer records to the National Archives through the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate. To date, the Senate Democratic Policy Committee has sent issue briefs and the Senate Democratic Conference has sent minutes to the National Archives. The Senate Republican Conference will be sending minutes in the near future.

No regular disposition routines have been established. Instead, party policy committee records remain in offices until lack of space, always a rare commodity in crowded congressional offices, demands their removal. At that time, the records are shuttled to a storeroom in the appropriate House or Senate office building, where they are largely forgotten, or they are removed in conjunction with the disposition of a member's personal papers. For example, Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-IA) collected an ostensibly com-

plete set of research reports and similar materials from the Senate Republican Policy Committee during his tenure as chairman (1962-1968). The records are now among his personal papers at the Herbert Hoover Library in West Branch, Iowa. This series constitutes roughly four boxes of materials. The Senate Republicans recently have considered using the services of the National Archives, but internal disagreement about whether the committee or the senator owns the materials has so far prevented them from making a decision about disposition. They have not permitted access for appraisal purposes.

Party policy committee records donated as part of personal papers collections would benefit from archival processing and should be good candidates for copying and distributing to other archival repositories and the Center for Legislative Archives. But the preservation of such materials is irregular. While staffs at various CMOs *may* make records available to the public, the researcher is often left to seek out the senior staff member with the institutional memory who may remember the approximate location of older documents and have at least a rough understanding of their contents. No one, however, knows how many documents may be stored in various locations on Capitol Hill.

LSOs are even less likely than party policy committees to send their records to the National Archives. While LSOs retain copies of publications, as well as correspondence and other reading or working files, most such materials remain at the offices of the LSO as long as it exists. Files of LSOs that are dissolved appear to revert to the offices of supporting members of Congress or their staff members, who assume private ownership of the records and are allowed to dispose of them as they wish.

The reason these materials are not publicly accessible is that many of those who serve in the CMOs assume that their documents are internal working papers rather than public documents. While CMOs maintain archives of in-house publications and program or reading files, there is little or no effort to process the records in anything like a professional archival manner. Indeed, because CMOs generally have had no contact from archivists—with the exception of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee and the Senate Republican Conference—there is no real knowledge of

what should be preserved for future use or what has lasting research value.

As noted earlier, CMOs produce a variety of records for distribution to their memberships. These range from more formal research reports, newsletters, press releases, and campaign radio and television spots to unique materials such as correspondence, minutes, and reading files. Some items, especially research reports, are similar to CRS productions or publications of privately funded “think tanks.” They are published with public funds (either through the appropriations process or clerk-hire budgets) and can be considered to be “fugitive documentation.” They are nearly impossible to trace, generally inaccessible, and not consistently preserved with any view to future availability to staffers or the research public. The unique materials have not been appraised or systematically preserved.

Some current publications are available to the public in the offices of some LSOs, and most LSOs would make back files available to researchers if asked. Although LSOs are prohibited by the rules of the House of Representatives from selling publications, certain LSOs have created or established ties with private organizations that offer LSO publications for sale. Beyond publications, available documentation on LSO activities currently is limited to the financial disclosure forms filed in the Office of Records and Registration, which is part of the Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Electronic Records

Of growing importance is the presence of electronically manipulatable records in CMO offices. Like other offices in the House and Senate, CMOs have adapted to the availability of personal computers. Virtually all CMOs employ desktop publishing techniques to produce materials that are to be disseminated. Similarly, internal office files are generally produced and sometimes maintained in electronic formats. Clearly, CMOs and researchers who may use noncurrent CMO files would benefit by using guidelines for the management of such records that have been established by various offices. On the Senate side, the Senate Historical Office has published a *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories* (1992) and a *Records Management Handbook for United States Senate*

Committees (1988). Though clearly not intended specifically for CMOs, most of the electronic records guidelines and procedures offered in these handbooks are also applicable to records management challenges in CMOs.

Records management guidelines are less accessible in the House, if only because there is no single publication to serve as a ready reference. The House Information System (HIS) publishes *Guidelines for Standing and Select Committees in the Preparation, Filing, Archiving, and Disposal of Committee Records* (1990). This work contains little discussion of computer-generated information. House CMOs, like other House offices, suffer from the fact that there is no office with a mandate to assist with the administration of both archival and historical records management in a comprehensive manner. The Office of the Historian (the office with the historical perspective), as a part of the Office of the Speaker, is not vested with the same mandate as its counterpart in the Senate.

As noted above, CMOs generally maintain historical files of publications, even though they are not preserved in any formal sense; they have been less careful with correspondence and other working files, which are more scattered, less well organized, and the subject of disagreement as to ownership. With the advent of automated records, many correspondence files may have disappeared into the electronic ether.

No LSO has yet engaged in full-text electronic publishing, though this is clearly a possibility. Virtually all CMO publications can be made available on diskette. The National Technical Information Service (NTIS) is planning to publish Environmental and Energy Study Conference publications in electronic format, although the precise format and date of availability is uncertain.

The Office of Records and Registration has begun to collect quarterly disclosure reports in electronic format, with staffers entering appropriate information on an electronic form. The disclosure reports are still available to the public only on 16mm microfilm, but the existence of the reports in an electronic medium suggests further possibilities for availability of such data.

CMO Floor Activities

CMOs engage in a variety of activities including publications, seminars, briefings, press conferences, position papers and talking points

designed to fit the needs of individual members. The most active CMOs sponsor at least some services in all of these areas. The party and policy-oriented groups are most active during floor consideration, debate, and voting on measures, by providing information, facts and figures to support debate and by rounding up and coordinating support or opposition. Support of floor activity is largely undocumented except through legislative bulletins and reports prepared prior to the beginning of floor consideration.

CMO Publications

As discussed earlier, CMOs do not publish in the ordinary sense, since their materials are not printed through the Government Printing Office and are not accounted for in the depository library system. Lacking any overall system of organization, publications of CMOs have become a kind of "fugitive literature." Yet they are an important source of documentation because they focus on issues on the legislative calendar and provide a unique perspective on the legislative process.

The volume of CMO publications and other services can only be estimated at this time because most CMOs do not keep track of such matters. As one executive director commented, "We used to track page counts and so forth, but it was too boring." In general, CMOs are active when Congress is in session. Activity is usually less heavy during the first session of a Congress than during the second, which is an election year, when there is pressure to pursue legislative issues for electoral purposes.

The following estimates are based on a sampling of thirteen CMOs listed on the chart reproduced in Appendix C. Annually, the House CMOs probably produce approximately 1,500 publications totaling 10,000 pages. Senate CMOs probably produce a small fraction of those totals, probably no more than 1,000 publications. Party policy organizations produce a large proportion of documents relative to their number.

The CMOs publish three types of documents: newsletters and similar publications (daily, weekly and monthly) designed to update members on issues; research reports, which provide background on subjects of long-term interest and are issued irregularly; and miscellaneous publications, such as fact sheets that are published occasionally to focus on a special issue or bulletins to communicate legislative information to staff

members in various offices. CMOs actually employ a plethora of names for their publications and tend to modify the general categories as needs dictate. Estimates of other kinds of services are based on interviews and are only approximate. They do not include informal types of services, such as providing on-the-spot information to a member during floor debate.

The documentation of congressional membership organizations is at present beyond the grasp of official archivists and historians. Lack of organized documentation has led to a lack of study and scholarship. Yet CMOs as a group surely exert influence over policy-making and the movement of legislation in the United States Congress. Their role has not been carefully evaluated, largely because the informational resources about them are not available.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Survey and appraisal. Records of CMOs should be surveyed and appraised to determine their chronological coverage, completeness, periodicity, and order. This survey should be conducted either by, or with the advice and supervision of, appropriate officials within Congress.

2. Guidelines. Archivists in Congress should establish guidelines for the preservation of CMO records. The mandate of the Center for Legislative

Archives at the National Archives and Records Administration should be given the broadest possible interpretation. Under the guidance of the clerk of the House of Representatives and the secretary of the Senate, the Center should collect the publications, correspondence files, and other records of all CMOs.

3. House archivist. Mandate an appropriate official within the House to assist with the disposition of records of House CMOs and other offices. This activity would be facilitated by establishing a position of professional archivist. Create new guidelines where necessary (e.g., for electronic records). Contact CMOs with appropriate information and guidance.

4. CMO publications. Encourage CRS to broaden the scope of its *Informational Directory* to include data on CMO publications and on private organizations affiliated with Legislative Service Organizations. The *Directory* should be made available to the public.

5. Identification. Identify CMO materials in the papers of members of Congress, presidential libraries and other archives.

6. Oral history. Since no textual documentation exists of policy-oriented CMO floor activities, create a model congressional oral history interview guideline that includes staff of the party policy committees and focuses on their floor support role.

Chapter V: Documenting External Relations

Part I. External Relations: A Definition.

Congress interacts with the executive and judicial branches of government and with an array of outside groups, institutions, and agencies in the course of accomplishing its legislative and oversight goals. This chapter covers relations with the executive, the judiciary, the media, lobbyists, "think-tanks," and public policy institutes. Relations with state and local governments are covered in Chapter III, Documenting Representation.

Congress and the Executive

The executive branch and the president are important influences in congressional decision making. Executive agencies propose legislation, work with congressional committees to shape legislation, and carry out and administer programs established by statute. Agency employees testify before committees, report to Congress regularly as required by legislation, and draft and propose rules and regulations that delineate and assist with the execution of Congress' laws. The president is sometimes described as the "chief legislator" because of the executive's role in the legislative process. Beginning with the State of the Union address and numerous other special messages, the annual budget, proposed legislation, reports required by statute, and the ability to exercise the veto, the president is a major player in helping to shape and execute the legislative agenda. While the veto power is essentially the power to disapprove of a bill passed by Congress, the threat of a veto can also be used by the president to encourage acceptance of executive preferences.

Passing legislation and formulating public policy causes Congress and the president to interact in numerous ways. Such interaction is shaped by party links and the need to bargain and compromise. Staff in agencies seek advice from the legis-

lators, can help them receive positive publicity at home, and can supply members with advance notice of executive actions. The president can play the role of "salesman" with Congress by appealing directly to the people to win support for favored programs and by using this grass-roots support to influence congressional votes. Various informal methods of liaison are maintained between the president and Congress. These range from establishing congressional liaison units within the White House and agencies to granting or withholding patronage resources, such as judicial appointments, construction projects, or campaign support.

Davidson and Oleszek summarize the policy-making process as "conceiving an idea, gathering information, publicizing the proposal, mobilizing support, gaining passage, and implementing the law." They point out that "Congress is involved at every stage, but its role is often stronger at one point than another. For example, conceiving, ventilating, and sustaining ideas are special strengths of Congress that flow from its representational character. At the mobilization and implementation stage, however, Congress frequently requires help from the executive branch and pressure groups." Such help is directed at educating the public and winning support.¹

The area of foreign policy brings a great deal of interaction between Congress and the executive. Among Congress' constitutional powers are the power to declare war, regulate foreign commerce, and raise and support military forces. The Senate must give advice and consent to treaties and approve ambassadorial appointments. Through appropriations, both houses influence the whole spectrum of foreign policy. The president's specified duties include acting as commander in chief, negotiating treaties, appointing ambassadors, and receiving ambassadors.

Sometimes referred to as the fourth branch of government, the bureaucracy receives as much direction from Congress as it does from the executive. Constitutionally, the executive branch is organized by Congress, which also confirms presidential appointments and controls the purse strings. Congress plays a role in executive organization and reorganization, has wide authority over the personnel system and the civil service, and can create executive units that are independent of direct executive control, including independent agencies, government corporations, and intergovernmental commissions. Congress interacts with agencies in matters of funding for state project work and in providing casework services to constituents.

Informal relations between Congress and the bureaucracy may include agency staff "leaking" information to members and committees, negotiating policy agreements, and encouraging or opposing certain points of view. On a more formal basis, departments also provide studies of legislation and assist in drafting and amending legislation.

Congress and the Judiciary

Congress interacts with the judiciary in several ways. It establishes, funds, and exercises oversight of the federal judicial system; it provides advice and consent for federal judicial appointments (the Senate); and, as with executive personnel, it can exercise the power of impeachment to remove federal judges from office. The Constitution provides that judicial power extends to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made under their authority. In the historic *Marbury v. Madison* opinion, Chief Justice John Marshall asserted the power of the Court to declare statutes unconstitutional. Furthermore, in recent years, federal courts are increasingly asked to interpret legislative intent in "public interest" suits where public interest groups challenge agency rules in court before the rules can go into effect. As explained by Davidson and Oleszek, "With active judicial 'administration' of statutes, interest groups and individuals are emboldened to make demands on agencies to secure their rights."² When these demands are not met, individuals can bring suit in court, thus weakening executive and legislative control.

Congress can initiate a constitutional amendment to overturn a judicial ruling that declares a statute unconstitutional. It can enact legislation to expand constitutional rights. When Congress perceives that the judiciary is overly intrusive, it "can proceed to restrict the standards of judicial review, cut back on some statutory jurisdiction, and modify venue laws."³ Congress can establish and regulate lower federal courts.

Congress and the Media

Interaction between Congress and journalists began with the establishment of Congress and occurs on both the individual and institutional levels. Individual members strive for publicity and have press aides on their personal staffs who maintain contact with the reporters back home and with national media journalists. Over the years, members can develop close working ties with certain journalists. Media contacts exist in all forms, from television and radio spots to newsletters, press releases, and live interviews on public news programs. National news gathering is centralized in the Washington press corps.

Both houses maintain press galleries for print media, photographers, radio and television, and periodicals. Individual journalists may apply for membership to obtain the privilege of admission to one of the House or Senate press galleries—a privilege principally exercised during important debates or votes. Most national reporting about Congress centers on events that occur on the floor of the two chambers or in committee and subcommittee hearings. To promote better understanding of an issue, committees may seek publicity by having staff prepare summaries and press releases and arrange for interviews with committee members. Committee hearings and floor proceedings are now televised, and both houses maintain fully equipped radio and TV studios where members can produce their own programs or excerpts.

The press corps is divided between those who concentrate on local news and those whose focus is national news. Approximately four thousand journalists are accredited to the congressional press galleries. Only about one third of these cover Congress regularly. The most important nationally focused groups are the television networks, including NBC, CBS, and ABC; the two wire services, the Associated Press and United Press International; three news magazines, *Time*, *Newsweek*,

and *U.S. News & World Report*; two journals, *Congressional Quarterly* and *National Journal*; and daily newspapers, including *The Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal*.⁴

Besides the general circulation press there are numerous specialized journals, newsletters, and reports that help to inform the public and keep policy-makers informed and linked together. Many of these publications are issue oriented or ideologically oriented. Examples include *C-Span Update*, *Commerce Clearing House Index*, *Common Cause Magazine*, and *Roll Call*. Other such publications can be located in *Oxbridge Directory of Newsletters*, *National Directory of Newsletters and Reporting Service*, and the *Encyclopedia of Associations or National Trade and Professional Associations*.

Local media sources, including newspapers, periodicals, and TV and radio stations, generally do not independently cover news of national scope unless there is a local angle that warrants coverage. Instead, they rely on the large centralized sources for national events. Local sources do cover national news when it is conveyed directly through the senator or representative. Journalists and legislators share the traditional relationship in which the reporter depends upon the news source for stories and the source depends on the reporter for publicity. Local journalists are more dependent upon this relationship, as they tend to have fewer sources, who do not change rapidly over time. National reporters are freer to be critical in their coverage because the stories they cover and the sources they use change constantly.

Studies have shown that national reporters tend to focus more than local reporters on actions in the Senate and on the views of majority leaders. Electronic media generally cover the more dramatic breaking news stories, while print media can cover the development of legislation in greater depth. As Davidson and Oleszek point out in their discussion of Congress and the press in *Congress and Its Members*, 2d ed., the national press focuses more on policy-making issues, while the local press concentrates on Congress as individual lawmakers. The specialized press plays an important role by reporting national news as it affects particularized publics.

Congress, Lobbyists, and Think Tanks

Other important players in the legislative process are lobbyists, interest groups and

“think-tanks.” Lobbyists are hired by individuals or groups to present a point of view directly to members or staff. Their function is to influence legislation. They can engage in a variety of tasks, such as directly communicating a client’s interests to staff and members, testifying at hearings, providing drafts of legislation, assisting with speech writing, and aiding campaigns. Members who sit on crucial committees are frequently asked to speak before special interest groups that have an interest in the jurisdiction of those committees.

Lobbyists and special interest groups actually provide a much needed service to Congress because they can be reliable sources of information, opinions, analysis and expertise. They can even play the role of integrating diverse elements within Congress by serving as a means of communication between members.

Every major trade association, corporation and professional group, and even foreign organizations, maintain lobbyists. To obtain their legislative goals, groups engage in direct lobbying, social lobbying (e.g., invitations to speaking engagements), forming lobbying coalitions on issues where their interests converge, and stimulating grass-roots lobbying campaigns by citizens. Lobbyists can play significant roles at election time as they can raise funds, make financial contributions through political action committees, and analyze and rate legislators’ voting records on issues of concern to them. They can play a positive or negative role by campaigning for or against a candidate.

While there is much concern that lobbyists and special interest groups exert too much influence, the role of the lobbyist has become increasingly important as Congress itself has become more decentralized. Special interest groups and lobbyists influence the legislative process at nearly every stage, including the introduction of measures, pushing for oversight in a particular area, committee review of legislation, and final decision making on the floor. Strong interest groups often build a close relationship with a committee active in their area of interest. They may even press to have members friendly to their point of view appointed to a relevant committee, and they may plan strategies to win votes on the floor. There is often considerable crossover of staff among groups, agencies, and committees working in the same issue area.

Outside interest groups also maintain ties with corresponding inside informal groups and caucuses, such as the legislative service organizations in the House. This activity can include providing staff and financial support. Some outside groups have established private institutes that conduct research and provide analysis to key decision makers. (Further discussion of institutes can be found in Chapter IV, Part V.)

Lobbyists are required to file quarterly reports with the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate, listing the amount of money received and spent on lobbying. These reports are published in the *Congressional Record*.

Part II. External Relations: Congress and The Executive; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Papers documenting the relationship between Congress and the president are located in diverse manuscript collections and official records. Probably the easiest and most complete materials to locate and use are in presidential papers and records, but important materials are also located in federal records, papers of White House staff members, personal papers of members of Congress, congressional committee records, and political party papers. Oral history interviews reveal bits of history that have gone unrecorded and are an invaluable tool for historians working on Congress and the president. Material may also be found in the papers of independent lobbyists and in papers belonging to members of the press.

Interaction Between the President and Congress

Article II, section 3, of the Constitution mandates that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient..." The modern president plays a much more active role in "recommending" measures to Congress than did his predecessors. The president now comes to office with a popularly supported agenda requiring congressional action, and he expects to press for its implementation. Beginning with the State of the Union address, the chief executive becomes a major force in providing direction for new legislative initiatives. As bills are **introduced, he will track them and lobby for or against passage.**

Under powers outlined in Article II, sections 2 and 3, of the Constitution, the president has the power to conduct foreign policy. He acts as commander in chief, receives ambassadors from other nations, negotiates treaties to be ratified by the Senate, and appoints diplomats with the advice

and consent of the Senate. However, Article 1, section 8, gives Congress certain balancing powers: the authority to declare war, regulate foreign commerce, levy tariffs, and provide for a military. Congress also controls the purse strings and can influence foreign policy dramatically through appropriations.

Article II, section 2, provides for the president to fill numerous positions by appointment with the advice and consent of the Senate. This relationship can lead to major conflicts between the Senate and the president, such as the disputes that raged over Lyndon Johnson's nomination of Abe Fortas to be chief justice and Richard Nixon's nominations of Harrold Carswell and Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court.

The veto power given to the president in Article I, section 7, of the Constitution provides another opportunity for interaction. The threat of a presidential veto frequently results in negotiations and compromise over pending legislation.

The constitutionally defined relationships between the president and Congress are shaped through political interaction. The president provides leadership for the national party, develops its agenda, and campaigns for those who support his agenda. He has the power to assist the legislators with their local constituencies, to grant patronage, and to exert control over federal money spent in a particular state or congressional district.

Presidential Papers and Records

The Constitution outlines the roles of the president and Congress; it requires them to cooperate and sets up inevitable conflicts between them. The president and the executive branch interact with Congress during the passage of legislation, the conduct of foreign policy, the appointment process, and in the implementation of legislation. Outside of this constitutional relationship exists a political relationship. The president serves as the head of his party, develops a legislative agenda

supported by the party, builds public support for his agenda, and campaigns for members of his party.

The president's papers reflect the genesis of his legislative proposals, the extent of his participation in the legislative process, and his personal style in dealing with Congress. The papers offer insights into other areas of interaction, such as the conduct of foreign policy and the confirmation of presidential appointments.

Documents may be found in a variety of places in presidential papers. For example, during the Lyndon Johnson administration, a high-water mark in executive-congressional relations, many papers reflecting the president's interest in Congress were filed in subject categories in the White House Central Files. Subjects such as "Political Affairs" (PL), "Legislation" (LE), and "Federal Government-Legislative Branch" (FG 400) contain extensive evidence of President Johnson's interest in his legislative proposals and his efforts to push them through Congress. Other categories, such as "Foreign Affairs" (FO), "Natural Resources" (NR), and "National Defense" (ND), contain substantive correspondence with members of Congress. These subject categories, first used in the Kennedy administration, continue today, with some modification, in the White House Office of Records Management automated system.

In recent administrations, staff have maintained diaries or logs of the president's day. President Johnson's secretaries maintained a detailed diary of his daily activities. Johnson's daily diary, which is indexed by name, shows his numerous contacts with members of Congress. A "Diary Backup" file contains additional material documenting the contacts. In the Nixon years, the National Archives liaison staff at the White House, the Office of Presidential Papers and Archives, maintained a detailed diary. These are rich sources for congressional historians to mine.

Since the Eisenhower administration, White House staffs have included an Office of Congressional Relations. President Kennedy selected Lawrence O'Brien to head this office during his administration, and O'Brien set the tone for an active congressional liaison in the Kennedy and succeeding administrations. Files generated by this office contain invaluable memoranda evaluating congressional positions, detailing White House strategies, summarizing contacts with members of Congress, reporting requests from

members for assistance, and recounting activities in the federal agencies that were being coordinated with White House activities.

Although the Office of Congressional Relations lobbies for the president's program, it is rarely involved in policy formation. In the modern White House, aides outside of the liaison staff have been responsible for formulating the legislative agenda presented to Congress. These aides' files illustrate policy development, while the Congressional Relations staff files will reflect the political maneuvering.

Each president's papers may include types of collections not found in the papers from other administrations. For example, the Nixon papers include a collection known as "White House Special Files." A Special Files Unit was created at the White House in September 1972 to house documents removed from the Central Files or staff office files because they were considered sensitive. The Special Files include a file grouping known as the "President's Office File." The President's Office File includes a "President's Handwriting" series; a collection of "Memoranda for the President" that contains numerous summaries of meetings, including those with congressional leaders; and a chronological series known as the "Annotated News Summary" that contains daily news summaries with President Nixon's reactions and comments jotted in the margin.

In many collections, researchers may find information pertaining to Congress even though the vast bulk of the collection deals with other subjects. For example, the "National Security File Name File" at the Johnson Library includes folders on Senators William Fulbright, Robert Kennedy, and Mike Mansfield. The National Security File Vietnam Country File includes several folders on "Congressional Attitudes and Statements."

Material in presidential papers documenting White House meetings with congressional leaders may summarize or quote congressional leaders who met with the president. These notes may reveal more about an individual's private thoughts on legislation or his or her willingness to compromise with the president than do the member's own papers. For example, Johnson's presidential papers contain detailed notes of many of his meetings with congressional leadership, while Johnson's Senate papers include little about his meetings with President Eisenhower. Eisenhower's papers, however, contain memos of

conversations with Lyndon Johnson and documentation for bipartisan leadership meetings at the White House.

Before concluding the section on presidential papers, a word must be said about taped conversations. President Roosevelt was the first president to tape his conversations, and the Roosevelt Library contains a fragmentary set of recordings. Taping expanded through the years. Both the Johnson Library and the Nixon library project holdings include large collections of taped conversations. Tapes at the Johnson Library are not available, and only a small portion of the Nixon tapes are available. As these collections are processed, they will constitute an important new resource for the study of executive-congressional relations.

The above is only a brief guide to the types of material residing in presidential papers, a sample of what congressional researchers can expect to find. Although file arrangements and the volume and types of material on Congress may vary in some respects from administration to administration, each presidential library can serve as an important resource for the study of executive-congressional relations.

Interaction Between the Bureaucracy and Congress

The executive branch, the bureaucracy with its myriad departments and agencies, interacts with Congress in a number of ways. Although the president maps out a legislative agenda, he relies on executive agencies to provide information to Congress, assist in drafting legislation, testify on behalf of bills, press for or against passage of particular measures, and implement the legislation passed by Congress. Cabinet level departments and many independent agencies have their own congressional liaison staff who lobby Congress on behalf of the president's program.

Although part of the executive branch, the bureaucracy is controlled by Congress. Congress confirms appointments, funds the agencies, legislates their organization, and charges them with implementing and enforcing laws passed by Congress.

The main source for material on the relationship between the bureaucracy and Congress is federal records, many of which may be found at the National Archives. An agency's records may

include a file category for congressional correspondence, such as the Social Security Administration's file category "011." In other cases, agency records may include folders of congressional material mixed with folders on other subjects. For example, the records of the Social Security Board, the agency which preceded the Social Security Administration, include the chairman's files, which contain a large collection of correspondence about patronage and pending legislation from 1941 to 1948. In other cases, agencies may have an office that conducts many liaison activities. For example, the records of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation that existed between 1965 and 1972 include material regarding congressional relations and congressional hearings on pertinent legislation. The records of the agency that superseded OEO, the Community Services Administration (1977-1981), include material from its Office of Legislative Affairs.

Papers of Members of Congress

Historians should be able to view executive-congressional relations in papers generated at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. The primary source for material from Capitol Hill is members' office files, including legislative assistants' files. These collections are the most likely source to reflect personal relationships between members of Congress and the chief executive. Leaders' papers and papers of powerful committee and subcommittee chairs are especially important, and they are likely to contain material documenting strategies for passing, changing or defeating legislation proposed by the White House.

A member's papers may contain a variety of material on his or her relationship with the president and executive branch. Collections may include correspondence with the president, his aides, and other members of the executive branch; position papers and memos reflecting attitudes toward administration policy; notes revealing the content of conversations and meetings about national policy; and campaign records showing presidential support or opposition.

Office files contain correspondence with executive agency staff about policy matters, pending legislation, the status of projects, and other matters. In many cases, Congress appropriates money for programs but allows the pertinent department

or agency discretion about spending. Members may lobby the agencies to spend the appropriations on projects in their home districts.

Congressional files strongly reflect the "ombudsman" role that members undertake on behalf of their constituents. Voluminous case files contain correspondence documenting efforts to intercede with the executive branch by cutting agency red tape, obtaining information for the people back home, or asking the bureaucracy to consider a constituent's petition or application. For a full discussion of this activity, see Chapters II and III.

Records of Congressional Committees

Much of the interaction between the White House congressional liaison office and Congress occurs with members and staff of congressional committees. The White House lobbies for key bill proposals and for changes in bills before committees; it may lobby to keep opposition legislation from coming to the floor. Committee files, including staff files, may reveal the extent of executive influence on the legislation evolving in committee. Records such as those from the Senate and House appropriations committees may contain evidence of wrangling and compromise between the chief executive and the committees. Records of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee should demonstrate some of the "tug and pull" between the two branches over the conduct of foreign relations.

Experts from the various executive departments frequently testify before congressional committees, provide information, and lobby on behalf of the president's program. Committee files should reflect this relationship. For a full discussion of congressional committee records, see Chapter II.

Oral History

Oral history interviews with members of Congress and their staffs are useful in supplementing available documentation. Decisions are frequently made during phone conversations; substantial policy changes may be considered in informal meetings; and personal reactions to events may be only a memory. Oral history programs offer the opportunity to recapture this lost information.

Existing oral history transcripts have been used extensively in documenting political negotiations and decisions. The Johnson Library has an extremely active oral history program, and many transcripts address President Johnson's relationship with the legislative branch. The interviewees frequently discuss conversations and events that have gone unrecorded in the written record. The transcripts have been an invaluable source to researchers and are very heavily used.

The Senate Historical Office is conducting oral history interviews with people knowledgeable about the Senate, particularly former congressional staff. These interviews offer insights into the executive-congressional relationship from the vantage point of Capitol Hill. For example, the interviews with Carl Marcy, the chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1955 to 1973, discuss the relationship between Senator William Fulbright and Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

The Carl Albert Center has compared its nineteenth-century congressional collections with its twentieth-century collections and concluded that there are frequent informational gaps in the twentieth-century material. In order to "capture what the papers often lack—individuals' thoughts and acts on issues of their day"—the Center has instituted an oral history program focusing on the representatives who donate their papers to the Center and their staff members.

Papers of National Political Parties

The president must cultivate the party leadership in Congress; he relies on the leadership in his own party to help steer his program through the legislative branch. Leadership files of the Democratic and Republican policy committees and caucuses may contain strategy papers and communications from the president and executive agencies. For a more extensive discussion of these records, see Chapter IV, Part V.

While the president serves as head of the executive branch, he is also the head of his political party. The president's involvement in the national party varies from administration to administration. Papers of the Democratic and Republican national committees contain material which reflects the willingness (or unwillingness) of presidents to get involved in House and Senate

campaigns. For a more extensive discussion of party papers, see Chapter IV, Parts III and IV.

Papers of the Press

The press frequently investigates conflicts between the legislative and executive branches of government. The papers of journalists may include personal observations and notes of interviews, as well as working files accumulated in the course of investigative reporting.

B. Status of Documentation

Presidential Papers and Records

With the advent of presidential libraries, the president's relationship with the legislative branch has become easier to document. George Washington regarded his presidential papers as personal property and took them with him when he left office. Succeeding presidents followed this precedent, and most gave little thought to the preservation of their papers.

President Franklin Roosevelt wanted his papers preserved in a presidential library administered by the National Archives, and he gave his papers to the United States, starting a precedent followed by modern presidents. The concept was codified in the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955. The act provided for the government to accept papers and operate libraries, but it continued to recognize presidential papers as the personal property of the president. This situation prevailed until President Nixon attempted to incorporate clauses into his agreement with the government that allowed destruction of selected material. Congress retaliated by passing the Presidential Recordings and Preservation Act of 1974, placing the tapes and papers of the Nixon presidency in the custody and control of the federal government.

The Presidential Recordings and Preservation Act of 1974 provided for a commission to study the issue of ownership and control of papers produced by federal officials, including presidents, while in office. In 1978, Congress acted on the commission's recommendations and passed the Presidential Records Act. This act altered the historical practice of considering presidential papers to be personal property and established public ownership. The president retains ownership of personal documents, including diaries and journals, materials

relating to private political matters, and materials related to the president's election. Ronald Reagan was the first president affected by the act, and his official papers constitute the Reagan Library in California.

Presently, materials generated in the White House concerning executive-congressional relations are considered "presidential records" and will become a part of the holdings of the appropriate presidential library. Barring some sort of disaster, preservation of the official records from future administrations seems assured. However, many of the documents considered personal papers under the Presidential Records Act, such as diaries and political papers, may also be important to the study of executive-congressional relations. It is hoped that presidents will continue to donate this material to their presidential libraries as presidents have done in the past.

In many cases, the problem that arises is not collecting the material, but rather assuring that adequate records are kept. The telephone has always been a major obstacle to preserving adequate documentation, and the widespread use of computer technology has created a new set of problems.

The presidential libraries acquisition policy is stated in the "Presidential Libraries Manual" compiled by the National Archives and Records Administration. According to the manual, "The objective of the acquisitions program is to increase the research potential of the library, primarily, through the acquisition of historical materials related to the President, his work, his family, and his associates... The historical materials appropriate for acquisition by a presidential library consist of textual, audiovisual, machine-readable, and three-dimensional items which have a subject matter or physical relationship to the President, his public or private life, his family, and associates." This very broad statement allows the presidential libraries to collect a large variety of papers to complement the core holdings.

The libraries actively solicit personal papers of White House staff members. Although staff files are considered to be presidential papers, aides may accumulate personal papers that reflect their work and their contacts with members of Congress. Library holdings may include political party papers, lobbyists' papers, and papers of members of the press containing useful information on executive-congressional relations. Many

of the libraries have oral history programs that include interviews with members of Congress and with congressional staffers.

Federal Records

Files created in departmental and agency legislative liaison offices and material concerning the development of their legislative programs are federal records. Federal offices operate under records management guidelines drawn up by the National Archives and Records Administration, and records that have lasting historical value eventually are transferred to the National Archives.

Oral History

Many modern presidents have been the subject of oral history projects. Such projects are normally administered by a university or by a presidential library and frequently include interviews with members of Congress and congressional staff regarding their relationship with the chief executive. These interviews can be an invaluable resource. The Senate Historical Office is conducting interviews with people knowledgeable about the workings of the Senate; many of these also include material on interaction with the president.

Active oral history projects have not been undertaken for several recent presidents. Nor are there many oral history projects for major figures in Congress.

Political Parties

No established procedure exists for preserving records of the Democratic and Republican policy committees and caucuses. Unlike congressional committee records, which are transferred to the National Archives, party committee papers generally remain on Capitol Hill. The Democratic Policy Committee has transferred some position papers to the Legislative Archives in recent years. In the past, at least some documentation has ended up in members' papers. For example, Lyndon Johnson's papers include minutes of policy committee meetings. However, it appears that much documentation from the 1930s was lost. For a more extensive discussion on the status of these papers, see Chapter IV.

Both the Democratic and Republican national committees have deposited papers in the National

Archives. Some have been transferred to presidential libraries. For a more complete discussion of party papers, see Chapter IV.

Independent Lobbyists

The White House may enlist the help of outside lobby groups to assist in pressing Congress for the passage of its programs. The attempts may be documented in White House files and in the papers of independent lobbyists. Material documenting lobbyists' efforts is likely to be widely dispersed and difficult to locate. In other cases, well-organized lobbying campaigns may be documented in the files of associations, such as the National Rifle Association's efforts to fight gun control. Corporate records may include files documenting the efforts of businesses to influence legislation. The records of professional associations and law firms would contain similar material. For a discussion of lobbyists' papers see Part V of this chapter.

Press

There are some political journalists' collections in various archives. For example, the Drew Pearson papers are at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; the Arthur Krock papers are at Princeton's Seeley Mudd Library. It is difficult to determine, at this point, how much useful material is in such collections and to what extent these papers are solicited by archives and manuscript repositories.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Personal and political papers. The law defining "presidential records" mandates that presidents leave these records in government custody. Presidents should be encouraged to continue to give their personal and political papers to the presidential library bearing their name. Establishment of a White House Historical Office would help facilitate this process.

2. Resource articles.

a) National Archives. Archivists at the presidential libraries and the National Archives should consider doing resource articles describing their material on Congress and the development of legislative programs.

b) Departments and agencies. Documentation is dispersed, and there is a need for resources articles on material concerning Congress located in departmental and agency records. Articles could detail the extent of congressional material and evaluate its usefulness. A survey of selected existing National Archives records schedules would be a likely first step to determine whether and how such material is scheduled.

3. Finding aids data base. The creation of a legislative/congressional finding aids data base should be explored. This could include descriptions of material in presidential library collections that document Congress.

4. Oral history

a) Presidency. Presidents who are leaving office should be encouraged to find a source of funding for oral history projects, the usefulness of which is well established.

b) House. An oral history project similar to the one being conducted by the Senate Historical Office should be started for the House of Representatives. Guidelines for a model congressional oral history project should be developed and promulgated.

c) Repositories. Manuscript repositories holding congressional papers should consider doing oral history interviews with family and staff of the congressional donors.

5. Leadership records. When Lyndon Johnson was the Senate majority leader, it appears that

only a portion of the Democratic Policy Committee files were saved, because they were considered party rather than Senate records. Current records management practices should be surveyed systematically, and the congressional leadership should be encouraged to institute measures to preserve their records and make them available to scholars. Preparation of a separate pamphlet addressing preservation of the records of leadership offices might be appropriate.

6. Lobbyists' records. Archivists should develop and undertake a survey to determine if lobbyists hold files documenting their activities and whether any of the files are being given to archives or manuscript repositories. If the findings reveal worthwhile holdings and no systematic retention, then development and implementation of a workable retention strategy should be considered.

7. Journalists' records.

a) Survey. Congressional archivists should investigate journalistic sources by surveying the records and papers of the Capitol Hill press corps. It would be useful to compile recommendations regarding the disposition and preservation of journalists' collections and to make these available to members of the press corps.

b) Press galleries. The institutional records of the press galleries also should be investigated and solicited if they are deemed to be of sufficient value.



Part III. External Relations: Congress and the Judicial Branch

A. Sources of Documentation

Article III of the Constitution establishes the Supreme Court and defines the types of cases to which the judicial power of the Supreme Court extends, either as the court of original or appellate jurisdiction. Congress is given the power to establish the inferior court system. Judges are to "hold their Offices during Good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office." In addition, the Constitution provides a role for Congress in both the nomination of judges (the "Advice and Consent of the Senate," Article II, section 2) and their removal through the impeachment process (as outlined in Article I, section 3).

The Constitution is silent, however, on the explicit relationship between Congress and the judiciary, unlike the relationship between Congress and the executive branch, where the "checks and balances" are more clearly stated. The Supreme Court's greatest power, that of judicial review of acts of Congress, is only implicitly stated in Article VI (the "supremacy clause"), although few scholars would now assert that the Constitutional Convention did not intend to give this power to the Court. The relationship that has developed is therefore a mixture of precedent, politics, and common sense.

Interaction between the Judiciary and Congress

The fundamental duty of the courts is to interpret the laws that the state legislatures and Congress pass. This activity can result in unanticipated consequences with political ramifications for Congress, as the courts expand or restrict legal powers based on their interpretation of Congress' intent. One example of this process is the use of the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Originally passed to protect the civil rights of ex-slaves, this clause was

interpreted first to protect business in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century and then to extend civil rights protection to other groups, such as women. Through the power of judicial review, established in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), the Supreme Court has the power to overturn acts of Congress as unconstitutional. Its decisions may expand or restrict the areas in which Congress may act and may affect the functions that Congress possesses, such as delegation. Judicial remedies range from the issuance of writs, injunctions, and declaratory judgments to citing individuals for contempt.

Congress has several ways to counteract or influence the use of judicial power. It can, to a limited extent, influence the choice of a nominee to the Supreme Court, although members of the political party in power have more opportunity to do this with lower court nominees. Congress can certainly block the confirmation of a nominee and has done so twenty-nine times in the case of the Supreme Court. Although the Constitution gives Congress the power to impeach federal officials and, if convicted, remove them from office, this power has never been successfully exercised against a Supreme Court justice and only a handful of times against lower court judges.

As noted above, the Constitution also gives Congress the power to set judges' salaries and provide operating funds, create or abolish lower federal courts and judgeships, and set the size of the Supreme Court. It can determine the jurisdiction of the federal courts, including the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, except for jurisdiction explicitly stated in the Constitution. These methods of influencing the courts are rarely used by Congress. More common is the legislative remedy, in which Congress changes a law to satisfy or circumvent judicial objections or recommends a constitutional amendment to solve a particular problem.

Bowing to both constitutional and political realities, the courts restrain their own power by adopting various technical restrictions on the types of cases they will hear and how they will be

decided. The Supreme Court has created an entire panoply of such restrictions: it will not consider nonadversary, friendly cases; it will not give advisory opinions (this holds for the lower courts as well); no constitutional rule will be set out more broadly than the facts in the case warrant; resolution of a case will be on a nonconstitutional basis, if possible; a person who brings suit must have "standing to sue," either directly benefiting from the law or directly injured by it; and an act of Congress will not be found unconstitutional if an interpretation exists that would allow the law to be found constitutional. In addition, the Court will not decide so-called "political questions." These rules have remained fairly constant, but their application has varied depending on the membership of the Court and the nature of the case.

While the focus is often on the courts and Congress in conflict, there are areas of cooperation as well. Through the Judicial Conference and testimony before the appropriate congressional committees, the judiciary will make suggestions concerning the court system and the rules under which it operates. Although the courts will not give advisory opinions, some informal advising by individual judges occurs on pending legislation. It is well known that chief justices give advice to presidents on both legislation and judicial appointments. In some special cases, such as the Judiciary Act of 1925, the courts actually draft proposed legislation concerning their needs. Because of the budgetary power of Congress, the courts must cooperate to some extent in this area as well, much as executive departments do in their budgetary process.

Some scholars believe that many more areas of cooperation are available to both Congress and the judiciary that neither is now taking advantage of. These individuals point to the early Federal period in the history of the United States when judges were active in giving advice to members of Congress on various political and social concerns they both shared. In addition, these scholars say, the constant communication between the executive and legislative branches is not held to violate the separation of powers doctrine, and the executive branch often consults with the judiciary on various matters. As an example of one area where improved communication would benefit both groups, these scholars point to the special expertise that federal judges possess in the law, the legal system, and the administration of justice. They

believe that judges should be more involved than they have been in the past in providing assistance and comment to Congress regarding these areas. If these recommendations were to be followed, the resulting cooperation would create additional documentation on the interaction between the two branches.

Structure of the Judiciary

Presently, the federal judiciary comprises the Supreme Court, twelve judicial circuits of U.S. Courts of Appeals, ninety-one district courts, three territorial courts, an appeals court for the federal circuit, and six special courts covering such areas as claims, international trade, military appeals and taxes. Each of these courts employs a clerk, a librarian, and other support staff. Two courts of local jurisdiction for the District of Columbia and a judicial panel on multidistrict litigation have been created as well. There are four supporting organizations—the U.S. Judicial Conference, the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, the Federal Judicial Center, and the Supreme Court Historical Society.

The Supreme Court has a clerk, a reporter of decisions, a librarian, and a marshal that assist the Court in performing its functions. The clerk, who acts as the business manager for the Court, is responsible for record keeping, except for each justice's chamber papers. Each justice also has a variable number of clerks (most presently have four).

In addition to these four officers and his clerks, the chief justice of the Supreme Court appoints an administrative assistant, a court counsel, a curator, a director of data systems, and a public information officer to help him with the administrative duties of his position. The public information officer acts as the Court's spokesperson on all matters relating to the Court except the interpretation of its opinions and orders, issues press credentials, and acts as liaison between the press and the Court. The curator (the position was created in 1974) is responsible for exhibits and educational programs on the Court, recording events at the Court for future researchers, and preserving the Court's historical collections, which include a small amount of personal correspondence, photographs and a small number of interviews with the justices on film and audio tape.

The U.S. Judicial Conference acts as the policy-making body of the federal judiciary. It studies the rules, practices and procedures of the courts and recommends changes to them. The Conference is also responsible for making recommendations concerning the staffing, budget, and facilities of the federal court system. It has no separate budget of its own and is provided staff assistance by the Administrative Office. It often uses research reports from the Federal Judicial Center as the basis for recommending improvements in the court system.

The Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts is responsible for overseeing all nonjudicial administrative business of all U.S. courts except the Supreme Court. This activity includes submitting the budget and legislative agenda for the courts, providing assistance to the staff of the courts, compiling work-load statistics, and acting as the secretariat for the U.S. Judicial Conference. A records management office was created in 1977; it prepares and oversees the implementation of records schedules by the clerks of the lower courts.

The Federal Judicial Center serves as the research, training and development organization for the judiciary. It prepares policy research reports and provides other research assistance to the U.S. Judicial Conference, especially in the area of the administration and management of the courts. The Center also provides continuing education for members of the court system and does research on the use of data-processing systems in the courts. The History Office, which was established in 1988, is responsible for conducting, coordinating, and encouraging programs concerning the history of the judicial branch. In this it is similar to the Supreme Court Historical Society, which collects and preserves material relating to the Court and supports research and publication on its history.

The Judicial Branch

There are generally three types of inferior court records: administrative records, containing correspondence, memoranda, reports and other material; case records, such as dockets and case files, which are particularly important in documenting the activities of the courts of appeals; and general records, usually consisting of minutes documenting activities in the court's area of jurisdiction. These materials may contain information germane to judicial relations with Congress, depending on the particular

court, the cases it handles, and the amount of lobbying activity the court engages in with Congress.

The chamber papers of the judges of the inferior courts, considered to be the judge's personal papers, include official correspondence, the work of the judge's law clerks, case memoranda, conference and oral argument notes, draft opinions and judicial communications. There may also be administrative files, correspondence from counsel and the public, and material relating to service on committees, such as the Judicial Conference. In addition, purely personal correspondence and financial records, scrapbooks or clippings files and manuscript copies of speeches or articles can be found here as well. This material can be of great value to researchers, since the correspondence and committee files may contain letters to members of Congress concerning judicial matters, and case memoranda might show any congressional influence on the decision made in a case. Historians already mine such personal records for biographical information concerning members of Congress; a district or circuit court judge is often a former colleague of a senator or representative when both were members of the bar, and a correspondence may be kept up over the years.

The official records of the Supreme Court are similar in some ways to those of the inferior courts, containing administrative records, minutes, dockets, and appellate case files. As a court of record, the official records of the Court also include opinions, original jurisdiction case files, and tape recordings of oral arguments. The opinions will sometimes contain a legislative history if a law is in question, trying to trace the "legislative intent" of Congress in deciding whether the law is unconstitutional.

The chamber papers of justices are also similar to those of other federal judges. Because of the collegial nature of the Court, however, the working papers of the justices are far more extensive, comprising drafts of concurring and dissenting opinions, case files of cases assigned to a justice for an opinion, conference notes, returns from other justices, and large amounts of correspondence from colleagues. A justice may also have special subject files on areas of particular interest to him or her. Most of the documentation of judicial-legislative relations in justices' papers would reside in the correspondence, subject, and working files, especially in the papers of the chief justice.

The Judicial Conference and the Administrative Office bear most of the burden of relaying judicial concerns to Congress. Records within these two organizations most likely to document relations with Congress include the files of the Committee on the Judicial Branch (Judicial Conference) and the Legislative Office (Administrative Office). The Federal Judicial Center files containing research and reports created for the Judicial Conference regarding judicial-legislative relations would also be of value to historians. While it is not part of the judicial branch *per se*, the Governance Institute (created in 1986 as a nonprofit organization to investigate and report on methods to ease tensions between the branches resulting from the separation of powers) has worked closely with the Committee on the Judicial Branch to examine relations between Congress and the courts. Its records would be necessary to document this subject as well.

B. Status of Documentation

The Judicial Branch

The official records of the lower courts and the various agencies of the judicial branch are covered by statute, and records schedules have been created to ensure their disposition or transfer to the National Archives. Many lower court records have already been transferred to the Archives or the federal records centers; the records of the Judicial Conference and the Administrative Office's Legislative Office, although scheduled, have not been transferred. The National Archives has been reluctant to extend the definition of "federal agency" to the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, the Court in 1956 authorized its clerk to transfer its official records to the Archives. It is assumed that these records, since they were not deposited in the Archives by reason of statute but by Court authorization, remain in custody of the Court.

The Administrative Office oversees the implementation of the record schedules for the lower courts but is hindered in doing so because each district or circuit court considers itself autonomous. The Administrative Office cannot compel, only suggest. This fact, coupled with a lack of resources for implementing a full-blown records management program in the courts, has led to a wide variance in record-keeping practices among the clerks of the individual courts. The clerk of the

Supreme Court has even wider latitude, since only the justices oversee the operations of that office.

The preservation of chamber papers is more problematical than that of the official records of the courts, since these papers have a status analogous to the office files and personal papers of members of Congress. As with congressional papers, the absence of uniform standards has led to the loss, scattering, or destruction of many judges' papers, rather than their preservation in a manuscript repository. The problem is exacerbated in the case of the papers of Supreme Court justices because of the Court's status as a court of record and the tradition of judicial secrecy. Both of these factors discourage the preservation of working papers in the collections of justices. For example, just before his death in 1971 Justice Hugo Black had all of his private papers burned.

Even when papers have been preserved, researchers may find it difficult to both find and use them. Judicial papers are scattered in a large number of repositories, and there is no one source on such papers that a researcher can consult to locate what he or she needs. Some are still privately held, and are therefore unavailable. Once the papers are located, the researcher may find that the working papers or other "sensitive" materials have been removed. The papers may have severe access restrictions, designed to protect ongoing litigation or to prevent impairment of the collegial functioning of the appellate court system.

Recent developments point to an improvement in this situation. At the request of the Administrative Office, the National Archives has just completed a study on records management practices in the judicial branch. The Archives also has another study underway examining the disposition of judges' papers in the federal district and circuit courts in Washington, D.C. This study is being conducted at the request of the circuit executive of the District of Columbia Circuit. The Administrative Office and the Federal Judicial History Office have formed a joint committee to coordinate the preservation of the official records of the federal courts. In addition to representatives from these two offices, the committee includes members from the National Archives, the Senate Historical Office and the historical community. The committee's first meeting in July 1991 focused on the retention of bankruptcy records and of cases settled before trial, both

of which are presently scheduled for destruction. The Federal Judicial Center has also recently added an archivist to its staff.

The Federal Judicial History Office has two projects planned for completion in 1992 that will aid researchers greatly, including those interested in the relationship between Congress and the courts. The first is the creation of a handbook for federal judges' personal papers similar to the one created by the Senate Historical Office for U.S. senators. To aid circuit and district court judges and their staffs while this handbook is in progress, a memorandum was sent in November 1991 outlining some of the most commonly asked questions relating to the preservation and deposit of personal/chamber papers. This memo also provided sample collection descriptions, gift agreements, donor restrictions, and a partial list of repositories that already have judicial papers as part of their collections. The second project is a directory listing the papers of judges located in manuscript repositories, similar to those done for senators and representatives by their respective historical offices. A start was made on this project in 1988 when the History Office compiled a list of the locations of oral history interviews of federal judges.

Papers of Members of Congress

The papers of a member of Congress will contain some information concerning legislative-judicial relations. For example, a senator will often have nomination and appointment files for federal judges, especially Supreme Court justices. These will contain correspondence (often from constituents and lobbyists) that expresses opinions for and against the appointment of a particular individual, solicitation and recommendations for nomination, and perhaps some correspondence with the executive branch concerning the appointment of someone the senator favors. The papers of leaders in Congress and of committee and subcommittee chairs are especially important in documenting the interaction between the two branches, particularly the papers of House and Senate judiciary committee members.

Legislative staff files will contain material relating to the judiciary. There will be bill files for legislation specifically relating to the courts, such as the creation of more federal judgeships or the reorganization of the judiciary system. If a bill is

introduced to deal with a specific court decision, the file concerning that bill will reflect that fact. Some congressional office filing systems have a separate category for the Supreme Court and the inferior federal courts; decisions by the courts can generate large amounts of constituent and "pressure" mail. There may also be some correspondence with federal judges in the files.

For a detailed discussion of members' papers, which includes the status of documentation and recommendations, see Chapters II and III.

Records of Congressional Committees

Given the reluctance of both the legislative and judicial branches to communicate more than is necessary for fear of violating the separation of powers doctrine, most of the documentation of the interaction between the federal judiciary and Congress will reside in committee records and staff files. The Senate Committee on the Judiciary records will contain case files concerning appointments of federal judges, while the records of the House Committee on the Judiciary will contain documentation on the financing of the federal court system. Both judiciary committees have jurisdiction over matters concerning the courts, constitutional amendments, and the revision of laws and judicial procedures.

The Administrative Office encourages officers and representatives of the courts to testify before congressional committees on matters concerning the judiciary. Committee files should include this testimony. The Judicial Conference also actively provides information to both congressional judiciary committees; this material will be found in their files.

Other standing committees may have material that documents the interaction between Congress and the judiciary, especially concerning legislation in reaction to court rulings. For example, the files of the House Committee on Appropriations may contain financial information concerning the court system, or the Senate Committee on Commerce may have records on proposed legislation that would modify laws in response to a Supreme Court ruling. In addition, special committees created to deal specifically with judicial issues will contain valuable documentation on the judiciary's relations with Congress. A recent example of such a committee is the joint judicial-legislative Federal Courts Study Committee, created

in 1988 to investigate and report on such issues as the structure and administration of the court system, the resolution of inter- and intra-circuit splits on legal issues, the means by which the judiciary can advise Congress and others on the law, and alternative methods to resolve disputes. For a more complete discussion of congressional committee records, see Chapter II.

The Executive Branch

Article II, section 2, of the Constitution gives the president the power to appoint judges. The president's choice may result in conflict with Congress, as was the case with the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1991. As leader of his party, the president will attempt to move his party's program through Congress; some elements of this program may have been developed in response to certain judicial decisions. For example, the Republican party has consistently proposed voluntary school prayer amendments since the Supreme Court ruled such prayers unconstitutional in *Engle v. Vitale* (1962). Presidents often receive advice from judges, especially chief justices of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice William Howard Taft advised Presidents Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, while more recently Warren Burger did the same for President Richard Nixon.

Federal agencies also play a role in the judicial process, often intervening or appearing as a party in a case; any federal official or agency can file an amicus brief in federal court. The Office of Management and Budget recommends budgets that will include provisions for the federal judiciary. The Justice Department interacts frequently with the Supreme Court through the Office of the Solicitor General. The solicitor general reviews briefs from federal agencies, decides which to appeal, and then argues the case before the Court. The solicitor general often presents the president's views on various issues to the Supreme Court. In addition, any federal department or agency may find itself endorsing legislation within its jurisdiction that may be introduced in reaction to a court ruling.

Documents concerning the president's legislative agenda related to judicial decisions may be found in the same location as other legislative material. Correspondence files may contain letters from justices or other federal judges, and there

may be files of meetings with such individuals. Nominations will usually be found in a separate set of files. The files of the Office of Congressional Relations and of various presidential aides may also contain material of interest. Records of federal agencies can be found in the National Archives, with matters concerning the judiciary either under a separate file category or in the office that handles legal matters or liaison for the agency. The Justice Department records of the Office of the Solicitor General should be particularly rich in this type of information.

Agency records are federal records, and therefore fall under federal records management laws and procedures of the National Archives. Presidential records fall under the Presidential Records Act of 1978, and these official records can be found in the presidential libraries system. Personal records of the president have been, and should continue to be, donated to the presidential library of the individual involved. For a more detailed discussion of the types and status of executive branch records, see Chapter V, Part II.

Papers of Political Parties

The nomination of judges, especially Supreme Court justices, has always been a political process. Most of the twenty-nine nominees for the Supreme Court rejected by the Senate in the last two hundred and five years were rejected for partisan political reasons, rather than for questions of fitness or propriety. Rulings of the courts, especially on such controversial topics as civil rights or abortion, create political ferment as one party or the other either defends or attacks the interpretations made by the judiciary. Often, the result of such tumult is legislation proposed in Congress to overturn, circumvent or modify a court ruling.

The Democratic and Republican party congressional committees and caucuses do not have a regular procedure for preserving their records, although the Senate Democratic Conference has recently transferred minute books to the Center for Legislative Archives and the Senate Republican Conference is expected to transfer minute books in the near future. Other material becomes part of members' papers. Both parties' national committees have deposited records in the National Archives, with some of this material ending up in the presidential libraries. For a detailed discussion of the status of party papers, with

recommendations on improvements, see Chapters IV, Parts III–V and Part II of this chapter.

Independent Lobbyists

Independent lobbying groups have always had an interest in the nomination of judges, especially Supreme Court justices, as the nominations of Louis D. Brandeis in 1916, John J. Parker in 1930, and Thurgood Marshall in 1967 show. Since 1945, the American Bar Association has routinely evaluated nominees to the Supreme Court. But the recent trend has been toward increasing and more sophisticated interest group involvement in the nominating process, as exemplified by the failed nomination of Robert Bork in 1987 and the successful nomination of Clarence Thomas in 1991 to the Supreme Court.

Independent lobbying groups also play a role in the relationship between Congress and the judiciary by recommending or opposing legislation and constitutional amendments. These actions may be taken in response to a decision made by the courts, such as the flurry of “flag burning” laws and amendments introduced in the wake of the Supreme Court’s decision to strike down such laws in 1990.

Documentation of lobbyists’ efforts is dispersed and difficult to locate, residing in the files of associations, corporations, and law firms. The quality of this documentation depends on the archival practices of such organizations and is likely to vary widely. A more extensive discussion of lobbyists’ papers may be found in the appropriate section of this chapter.

Papers of the Press

The media routinely provide coverage of nominations to the Supreme Court and extensively cover controversial nominations, such as the nominations of Bork and Thomas. The press also investigates conflicts between the two branches and provides analysis of court decisions. Such papers may contain interview notes, working papers of investigative reporters, and notes of personal observations. Some journalists’ papers are in various archival and manuscript repositories, but it is difficult to evaluate their usefulness or to know the extent to which they are actively sought by such repositories. For a discussion of journalists’ papers see the appropriate section of this chapter.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Records management. Congressional archivists should encourage and assist the efforts of the National Archives, the Administrative Office and the Federal Judicial History Office to improve the archival and records management practices of the federal judiciary.

2. Supreme Court records. The National Archives should work with appropriate authorities to improve documentation of the Supreme Court and preservation of its records, as it has with courts below the Supreme Court.

3. Handbook. A records management handbook for federal judges’ personal papers should be prepared that includes the justices of the Supreme Court, in addition to the lower court judges. This would set standards for all of the federal judiciary.

4. Judges’ papers.

a) Federal judges, especially those serving in leadership positions and those on the Supreme Court, should be encouraged to place their personal papers, including their working papers, in a manuscript repository of their choice.

b) Given the justifiable concerns about the need to protect ongoing litigation and prevent the impairment of the collegial functioning of the appellate court system, standard restrictions and time limits should be developed for the personal papers of judges. This would remove one argument against placing personal papers in a repository, thus helping to ensure the preservation of the material.

5. Oral history. Oral history interviews are valuable in filling gaps in the historical record. Several interviews with district, circuit, and Supreme Court judges already reside in a number of repositories and the Curator’s Office of the Supreme Court. Funding for oral history projects with federal judges should be encouraged, and repositories holding the papers of judges should consider undertaking such interviews.

6. Resource articles. Archivists at the presidential libraries and the National Archives should consider doing resource articles describing their material on the judiciary, the interaction between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and the development of legislative programs in reaction to court decisions.

7. Lobbyists' records. Archivists should determine if lobbyists hold files documenting their activities and whether any of these files are being given to archives or manuscript repositories. Implementing this recommendation would require a survey with an appropriate strategy. If sufficient records of value are revealed by the survey, then a viable documentation strategy for such records should be developed.

8. Journalists' papers. Congressional archivists should encourage surveys of the records and papers of journalists who routinely cover the courts, especially the Supreme Court. A set of recommendations concerning the disposition and preservation of journalists' collections, similar to the one suggested for the Capitol Hill press corps, should be developed for this group, especially for journalists who act as legal correspondents.

Part IV. External Relations: Congress and The Media; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Major Networks and Periodicals

Congress is continually under public scrutiny by all major news networks, including NBC, ABC, CBS, PBS, NPR, and CNN. Floor proceedings are broadcast in their entirety by C-SPAN, which also broadcasts committee hearings and other congressional activities. Major periodicals such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, and the *National Journal*, also provide regular coverage of Congress. Newspapers that specialize in "inside" reporting, editorial perspectives, and political analyses include: the *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Miami Herald*, *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. State and local newspapers especially report on the activities of congressional delegations from their states and on issues that affect their state or region.

A selected list of publications that report on the legislative and policymaking activities has been compiled by the Congressional Research Service. Included in this representative list are: *Black Congressional Monitor*, *Briefing*, *CRS Review*, *C-SPAN Update*, *Common Cause Magazine*, *The Congressional Index*, *Congressional Insight*, *The Congressional Monitor*, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, *Digest of Public and General Bills and Resolutions*, *DSG Legislative Report*, *First Monday*, *Gavel to Gavel*, *Human Events*, *Major Legislation of the Congress*, *National Journal*, *Roll Call: The Newspaper of Congress*, *Update*, and *Weekly Bulletin*.⁵

Besides being generally available at large libraries in their original form, many of these materials are available through on-line data bases that are also accessible at large public or specialized research libraries. A list of selected on-line data bases that cover Congress is included in *How to Follow Current Federal Legislation and Regulations*.⁶

News coverage of the activities of Congress is not always comprehensive or even predictable. Local newspapers may include no coverage of their representative's activities or they may give extensive coverage. Coverage in the national news media also varies from time to time and subject to subject. Newspapers tend to report on Congress more thoroughly than television or radio but "since the early 1970s, Members of Congress have expressed concerns as to whether Congress receives as much news coverage as it should. Members also have frequently deplored what they perceived to be the distorted and superficial nature of congressional coverage; in this context the press has been accused of emphasizing scandal, conflict and negative performance on Capitol Hill while ignoring the substantive issues being debated and the actual nature of the work taking place there."⁷

Congressional Press Galleries

The congressional press galleries consist of the House and Senate press galleries, administered by the Standing Committee of Correspondents; the Senate press photographers' gallery, administered by a Standing Committee of Press Photographers; the House and Senate radio and television galleries, administered by the Executive Committee of the Radio and Television Correspondents' Galleries; and the House and Senate periodical press galleries, which are administered by an Executive Committee of Correspondents. Prior to 1873, the presiding officer of each house determined who should be admitted to the press gallery. In 1873, the Senate shifted this function to the Select Committee on Rules.

The Standing Committee of Correspondents was established in 1877 when the Speaker of the House worked with a group of reporters to establish a self-policing system whereby the committee of newsmen would determine that only qualified reporters ("bona fide correspondents of repute in

their profession") gained admittance to gallery membership. The Senate Rules Committee, in 1884, allowed the standing committee to also police the Senate press gallery.

Since 1888, the *Congressional Directory* has included the rules adopted by the standing committee. Besides determining the qualifications of reporters who apply for admission to the press gallery, committee functions include maintaining office space in the Capitol that is assigned by the architect of the Capitol, selecting press gallery superintendents, and arranging for press facilities at committee hearings. The Standing Committee of Press Photographers and the executive committees of the radio and television and the periodical press galleries perform similar functions. Their rules, together with membership lists, are also published in the *Congressional Directory*.

Press galleries in the House operate in accordance with Rule XXXIV, "subject to the direction and control of the Speaker." Press galleries in the Senate operate under Rule XXXIII, "subject to review and approval by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration." When disagreements arise over press gallery decisions, the respective authority acts as final judge in the matter. Documentation regarding such events resides in the Speaker's papers or records of the Senate Rules Committee respectively. Records documenting press gallery review of individual correspondents for membership resides with each press gallery. Additional records include membership lists and records documenting actions of the governing committees. In the past, for example, the Standing Committee of Correspondents has kept minutes of its meetings.

Two volumes are especially valuable for detailing the history of the press galleries and the Washington press corps. The older is *News from the Capitol: The Story of Washington Reporting*, by F. B. Marbut (Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL, 1971). *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents*, by Donald A. Ritchie (Harvard University Press, 1991) is particularly useful for locating manuscript and recent published sources. A bibliographical essay lists political collections, oral histories, relevant government documents, committee hearings of various investigations, and collections of memoirs and published letters. In the forthcoming publication, *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*, edited by Joel Silbey (Charles Scribner's Sons,

1992), Donald A. Ritchie contributed a section on "Media Coverage of Legislatures." A recent published hearing is "Committee Hearing on Congressional Ethics and the Role of the Media," 101st Congress, 1st Session, September 20, 1989.

Journalists

Since 1860, journalists who cover Congress have been listed in the annual *Congressional Directories*. Individual journalists may place their papers at the presidential libraries, the Library of Congress, university and college libraries, state archives and historical societies, or public libraries. For example, the Drew Pearson papers are at the LBJ Presidential Library in Texas, and the papers of Theodore Noyes, editor of the *Washington Star*, are located in the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Library in Washington, D.C.

The National Press Club library and archives has the records of two organizations: The National Press Club and the Women's National Press Club, which merged with the National Press Club. The club does not collect personal papers of journalists, but it does assist in an advisory capacity with directing journalists' papers to appropriate collections. These might include the Library of Congress; the University of Wisconsin Mass Communications Collection; the Museum of Television and Radio; the Broadcast Pioneers Library, which collects individuals' papers as well as those of collapsed organizations; the University of Missouri School of Journalism; the University of Wyoming Media Collections; or the presidential libraries. The National Press Club assists all accredited journalists with referrals, especially regional members, whose papers are particularly important for the quality of state and regional documentation they contain. There is no comprehensive guide to the locations of journalists' papers, like those to House and Senate members' collections. The *Biographical Directory of American Journalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989, 820 pp), edited by Joseph P. McKerns, is a valuable reference.

Publicizing Legislation

Members of Congress and others involved in the legislative process are constantly seeking publicity for ideas, initiatives, agendas, and measures. Committee hearings, held in Washington or in the

states, are a form of publicity, for example. The rules of most committees permit broadcasting of open hearings, and committees frequently have press officers and issue press releases.

Members have press officers on their personal staffs whose jobs are to ensure timely and adequate news coverage of the member and his or her legislative activities. The media and public relations files of a congressional office contain the member's speeches, press releases, newsletters, miscellaneous writings, news clippings, scrapbooks, clippings of amendments and speeches from the *Congressional Record*, newsletters, audiotapes, videotapes, photographs and slides, specialized mailings, opinion editorials (op eds) and columns. News clippings from a clippings service or compiled by staff from state newspapers may focus on a member's activities but may also include information on major issues of particular interest to the office. News clippings may be filed together, placed in scrapbooks, or randomly scattered throughout various office files.

Usually such records are maintained in the Washington office under the press officer. Photographic negatives are housed in the offices of the Senate and House photographers. The negatives, which are filed chronologically and are not identified by the photographers or indexed, may be incorporated into a member's collection upon departure from Congress. Identification of photographs is the responsibility of the member's staff, who seldom keep up with the task, except for photos of VIPs. The House and Senate TV studios produce videotapes for the members. These are not retained centrally by the studios, and are the responsibility of each member's office.

B. Status of Documentation

C-SPAN

Starting in June 1986, both the House and the Senate gained access to a wider audience through the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN). Millions of cable television subscribers throughout the nation view C-SPAN. The coverage does not reach as many viewers as the network evening news programs but it is complete gavel-to-gavel coverage, with the floor remarks of both House and Senate members televised in their entirety.⁸

In 1988, the National Archives and Records Administration became the repository of C-SPAN videotape recordings, dating from 1983, and since 1987, Purdue University Public Affairs Video Archives has recorded and cataloged all programming of C-SPAN. The video record is available to the public for viewing and to educators for tape-duplication and sales.

NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN

Now in its third decade of operation, the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive is unique in systematically recording, abstracting, and indexing the national evening news broadcasts of ABC, CBS, and NBC. Copies of programs are available for reference use, teaching, and research. Beginning in January 1989, videotapes and indexes of CNN PRIME NEWS and special reports are also available. Over 18,000 individual news broadcasts are supplemented by more than 5,000 hours of news-related programming including presidential speeches, political campaign coverage, and special news broadcasts like the Watergate hearings, the Iran-Contra arms scandal, and selected documentaries. The Archive publishes a monthly *Television News Index and Abstracts* that includes abstracts listed by network, date, and time, and a comprehensive index that provides access by name, place, and subject. An annual cumulative index is also produced.

Also available at the National Archives and Records Administration are the record copies of videotapes of floor proceedings of the House and Senate and a number of significant gift collections that include the ABC Radio News from 1943 to 1972; the March of Time Stock Film Library from 1935 to the 1950s; Mutual Radio News from 1935 to 1972; and others.

PBS, NPR

The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) maintained an active archival program until the early 1980s, when it curtailed reference services due to budget cuts. PBS has retained almost everything in the Washington offices, but due to space limitations and restrictions on use of certain programs, the collection is not comprehensive. The MacNeil/Lehrer Reports, dating from 1973, are housed at the National Archives and Records Administration,

Motion Picture, Sound and Video Branch, Washington, D.C.

National Public Radio (NPR) is a private, non-profit corporation established on February 26, 1969, specifically to provide a national program service for public radio stations. NPR began transmitting programming in April 1971. Funds for the operation of NPR are provided primarily by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), a non-profit, nongovernmental corporation established by Congress with the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, to promote and help finance the development of public radio and television. Currently, NPR services a nationwide interconnected public radio system, composed of more than 160 members operating more than 180 noncommercial, public radio stations.

The National Archives is the repository for all NPR news and public affairs programming. The first transfer was made in 1976, and all NPR programs are added to the National Archives after a five-year delay. Among the news and public affairs programs are NPR coverage of live congressional hearings and special events. Also included is the daily news program "All Things Considered" and regular coverage of speeches at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. Other programs included are "Firing Line," "Ford Hall Forum," "Contemporary World Problems," and "Advances in Science."

Unique to NPR, before C-SPAN was established, are programs that provide gavel-to-gavel coverage of the hearings conducted by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities (Watergate), House Judiciary Committee hearings on Impeachment, and the vice-presidential confirmation hearings of Gerald R. Ford, as well as congressional hearings on such issues as the war in Vietnam, oil shortages, and crime in sports. Files currently at the National Archives span 1971 to 1987. A computer printout index on microfiche to the National Public Radio news and public affairs programs from April 15, 1971 through 1987 is available at the National Archives. Access is provided by date, call number, series title, project code, program title, name, classification, subject keyword, and geographical codes.

The Museum of Television and Radio (est. 1975, formerly the Museum of Broadcasting) houses a collection of over 40,000 radio and television programs that represent a cross section of broadcasts over the past seven decades. Programs are

selected for inclusion based on their artistic, cultural, and historical significance. They include news, public affairs programs, and documentaries. Sources of programs include PBS, cable services, local radio and television networks, television advertising agencies, individuals, producers, and broadcast networks from other countries. A microfiche collection provides detailed supplementary subject coverage of the television and radio holdings, together with program reviews and biographical information.

Newspapers

The National Endowment for the Humanities' U.S. Newspaper Program (USNP) has made a significant contribution towards preserving newspapers and making them available for research. The program is a national effort to locate, catalog, and preserve on microfilm the newspapers published in this country since 1690. Through the USNP, the NEH intends to make accessible newspaper holdings in each of the fifty states and in the U.S. trust territories. The Library of Congress monitors the quality of the USNP bibliographic records that are entered into the Cooperative Online Serials Program data base maintained by the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC). OCLC is available through most college, university and public libraries.

Archives of newspapers can be found in the headquarters of newspapers themselves and sometimes at public and university libraries. The *Washington Post* maintains a morgue, for example, and the *Washington Star* archives are a rich resource for congressional history at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Library in Washington, D.C. (public library). The *U.S. News & World Report*'s photograph collection is available for research at the Library of Congress. Newspaper indexes are available, including the *New York Times Index* (1851-), the *Washington Post Index* (1971-), the *Washington Star Index* at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Library, and the *Baltimore Sun Index* at the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Periodicals

Most periodicals have poor archival programs, although most maintain reference libraries that sometimes contain archival materials. The research files of publishers like Congressional

Quarterly and the Congressional Information Service would be rich sources for scholars to mine, if they existed. Some publishers have established extensive and excellent archives. For example, Time Inc.'s archives, located at its headquarters in New York City, contains business and editorial records consisting of memorandums, correspondence, promotional materials, and publicity generated by or pertaining to Time Inc. Also included are published materials reflecting the company's activities, as well as tapes of the March of Time radio shows and March of Time films. Time-Life Books, a subsidiary, maintains an in-house research library at its headquarters that includes record sets of *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Life* magazines.

Press Galleries

At present, none of the congressional press galleries send noncurrent records to the Center for Legislative Archives. Certain materials, such as minutes and records of decisions taken by the governing committee and selected application files, would have permanent value for documenting the history of Congress. In fact, some of these materials have been cited in publications.

Conversations in 1989 between the Senate archivist and the chief counsel of the Senate Rules committee resulted in a suggestion that the Senate press galleries may send a letter of request to the chairman of Rules asking the committee to handle the transfer of their records to the Archives.

Journalists

Finding aids to journalists' papers are usually available in the repository. Locations of other journalists' papers may be found in the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (NUCMC). Printed copies of NUCMC can be located in most research libraries as well as through the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN) on-line data base. The *Directory of Manuscript and Archival Repositories in the United States and Canada* also lists the locations of papers of individuals, including journalists.

Most journalists whose papers have been preserved tend to be those of national stature. However, many university and historical society archives have collected the papers of local journalists. There is no central finding aid for journalists

in general or for those who have specialized in covering Congress.

Publicizing Legislation

Press officer records in committee or members' offices usually are well organized and maintained because of their value during a campaign and their usefulness in promoting consistency.

In 1988, the National Archives became the repository of C-SPAN videotape recordings. This material includes selected telecasts of House and Senate committee and subcommittee hearings; speeches; press conferences at the White House, State Department, Pentagon, and Capitol Hill; briefings and remarks by members of Congress and federal agency officials; and conferences of public policy organizations meeting in Washington, D.C. and around the country. Election coverage includes candidate debates, interviews, press conferences, and candidate appearances.

Since 1987, Purdue University Public Affairs Video Archives has recorded and cataloged all programming of C-SPAN. The video record is available to the public for viewing and to educators for tape-duplication and sales.

All media relations records have been appraised as permanent in records management guidelines, and most offices and repositories follow this retention with little confusion or disagreement. Problems associated with such files relate to their care and storage prior to their transfer to the archival repository. To address this concern, the Senate published a pamphlet entitled, "Guidelines for Preservation of Special Media," which is routinely distributed to all Senate offices.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Data base or finding aid. The Center for Legislative Archives should incorporate information about media sources within the National Archives that relate to the history of Congress into a legislative data base or finding aid.

2. Survey of periodical sources. Identify the major periodical sources of news coverage of Congress; survey them regarding their archival holdings, access policies, and reference staff available. Compile a guide to such holdings.

3. Information paper. Prepare an information paper for distribution to members of the media regarding the need to preserve their records.

4. Special media. Prepare a memo to congressional press secretaries restating the need for preservation of audio and video tapes, films, news releases and clippings within congressional papers. Include information about preservation microfilming of scrapbooks and photocopying of clippings. Discuss the issue of acid-free paper, recycled papers, and the archival implications for a member's collection. The House of Representatives should prepare a pamphlet on the care of special media and make it available to all House offices. Implement workshops or seminars to instruct office personnel on the care and handling of photographs, slides, tapes and films to prevent destruction.

5. Press galleries.

a) The appropriate authority in each house should systematically contact the governing committee of each press gallery for the purpose of offering guidance in the use of the Archives for storage of permanent records.

b) Each house should issue guidelines to the press galleries on the identification and preservation of permanently valuable files.

c) The appropriate authority in each house should provide guidance on the question of access to any records that press galleries transfer to the Archives.

d) The historical records maintained by press galleries should become part of the permanent historical record of Congress.

6. Individual journalists.

a) A location guide to the papers of individual journalists would be a useful endeavor and worthy of potential grant funding.

b) Consider preparing a biographical list of individual journalists who worked the congressional beat.

7. State and local repositories. Encourage and prepare guidelines for state and local archival repositories to collect, preserve and make available for research the papers of journalists who covered Congress. This could be incorporated into a model congressional collections development statement.

8. C-SPAN. Consider integrating information about relevant C-SPAN holdings into a congressional documentation data base.

9. Collections development policy statement. Include pertinent noncongressional journalistic sources, like C-SPAN broadcasts of congressional events or papers of local editors and journalists who focused on Congress, in a model institutional collections development policy statement.

10. Oral history. Include interviews with local editors and journalists who covered Congress in a model congressional oral history guideline.

Part V. External Relations: Congress and Lobbyists; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

To influence the legislative process and government policy making, all individuals and interest groups must have **access** to one or more key decision units in the government. Usually, organizations have lobbyists on staff or they engage professional lobbyists as consultants. Lobbyists are hired to cultivate access, directly or indirectly, to the individual member, his or her staff, and to committee and subcommittee staff through a variety of techniques. Lobbying activities generally consist of: 1) agenda setting or position development; 2) direct communications with government officials; 3) indirect communications through grassroots lobbying; and 4) fund raising and contributing to campaigns, primarily through political action committees (PACs).⁹ The most comprehensive documentary archival sources for describing the role of lobbying are to be found among the records of the interest group or lobbying firm itself. For example, the Library of Congress Manuscript Division's collection of records of the NAACP is vital for documenting lobbying efforts for civil rights.

Developing an agenda is fundamental to all other lobbying activities. Lobbyists gather political and technical information and present research findings to formulate public policy. Critical to success in developing a position is the lobbyist's skill in interpreting research results in light of the political situation. Documentation may include meeting minutes, annual reports, research and technical reports, policy studies, strategic plans, speeches, film and video productions, congressional vote analyses, legislative drafts, hearings testimony, *Congressional Record* inserts, publications, and journalistic accounts. The clerk of the House of Representatives and the secretary of the Senate receive and maintain lobby registrations and quarterly financial reports of lobbyists. The Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice receives the registrations and

financial information of agents representing foreign countries, companies, organizations, and individuals.

Buttonholing or direct communication with legislators and committees and their staffs is the traditional lobbying technique. Through personal contact, a lobbyist delivers his message directly, receives immediate feedback, further develops his association with the official, and builds credibility with his employer or clientele. Such access may be documented by telephone logs, appointment books, and correspondence files.

Technological advances have promoted grass-roots lobbying in recent years. From the "robotyped" letters of twenty-five years ago, to photocopies, to facsimile machines, communications are sent to Congress in ever increasing volume. Generally, single issues with mass appeal characterize grass-roots efforts. Sophisticated mail solicitations or telephone polls to targeted audiences can swiftly mobilize constituents to pressure their representatives. This indirect lobbying generates documentation in the form of meeting minutes; strategic plans; speaking engagements; issue campaigns—letters and post cards, telegrams, telephone logs, appointment books, editorials; advertisements; publications; journalistic accounts; and evidence of interaction with collaborative groups. This type of lobbying contributes to the deluge of paper flowing into members' offices.

The institution of the PAC allows lobbyists to take part in the electoral process through fund raising and contributing to campaigns. The Federal Election Campaign Act and its amendments require disclosure of PAC money. Archival documentation includes reports filed with the Federal Election Commission, the secretary of the Senate, and the clerk of the House (which are partially reproduced in the *Congressional Record*); meeting minutes; planning files; event files; speeches; voting analyses; canvassing and

voter drive materials; media campaign records; and journalistic accounts.

Counterpoint to the records of the lobby groups or individual lobbyists (many of whom are former members of Congress or former staff) are those of congressional members, staff, and committees, which contain information provided by lobbyists including correspondence, information papers, reports, presentation books, and appointment and telephone logs. Much of the material in a member's collection is derived from contacts made at committee hearings. At the most formal level, much committee hearing testimony is given by lobbyists, who also supply additional background material to key members (committee chair, key supporter, key opponent) during floor debates. This material frequently is reproduced in the *Congressional Record*. Some members now maintain personal PACs and their own tax-exempt foundations or caucuses to promote their special interests. Records for these organizations are maintained and housed separately from the congressional office files.

It has been noted that "of all the pressures on Congress, none has received such widespread publicity and yet is so dimly understood as the role of Washington-based lobbyists and the groups they represent."¹⁰ Sources of information on lobbyists include the American League of Lobbyists (P.O. Box 20450, Alexandria, VA 22320), a membership organization of registered lobbyists and other professionals interested in lobbying. The league works to improve the public image of lobbyists, monitors lobby legislation, and conducts educational programs on the role of lobbyists.

Several selected publications provide information on lobbyists and PACs. The *Washington Information Directory*, published annually by Congressional Quarterly, Inc. (CQ), is a comprehensive directory of governmental and non-governmental organizations in the Washington, DC area. The entries are arranged by subject. CQ's biennial *Public Interest Profiles* is a selective guide to 250 major public interest and policy groups. *Profiles* is significant for its lengthy, in-depth essays on each group that include basic background information as well as evaluations of the group's effectiveness and political orientation.

Washington Representatives, an annual publication of Columbia Books, Inc., is a compilation of Washington representatives of the major national

associations, labor unions, and U.S. companies, registered foreign agents, lobbyists, lawyers, law firms and special interest groups, together with their clients and areas of legislative and regulator concern. More than 12,000 individuals are listed, including officers of trade and professional associations, corporate public affairs officers, advocates of special causes, and lawyers and consultants who are registered lobbyists. The publication also gives names, addresses, phone numbers, and names of representatives of PACs.

The *American Lobbyist Directory* (Gale Research, Inc., 1989) lists more than 13,000 federal and state lobbyists and the organizations they represent. Lobbyists, organizations, and specialties are indexed. The appendix lists federal and state government offices that regulate lobbying activities. *The PAC Directory* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1984) lists the PAC name, address, phone number, and sponsoring organization (union, trade, or corporate), as well as PAC contributions to Democrats, Republicans, Independents, and/or individual candidates, and contains extensive cross-reference indexes. *PACs Americana: The Directory of Political Action Committees and Their Interests* (Washington: Sunshine Services, 1986) is similar to *The PAC Directory* but includes all PACs registered with the FEC through January 1986. Of particular interest is *PACs and Lobbies*, a biweekly newsletter of Amward Publications, Inc., Washington. The newsletter reports on PACs, the FEC, and legal developments concerning campaign practices. It also contains a regular section called "New PACs and Lobby Registrations."

B. Status of Documentation

Interest groups organized around economic concerns traditionally have been most active in lobbying efforts. These lobbies include business, labor, and agricultural groups who have been represented by their own employees, by prestigious law firms, and by associations. Since the 1960s and 1970s, lobbying on behalf of domestic social and economic policy objectives has become prevalent. These lobbies include groups seeking to extend civil rights protections (Blacks, women, Hispanics, homosexuals, handicapped) and those promoting or opposing single issues (gun control, abortion). Other groups can be described as public

interest oriented (environment, consumers, taxpayers). Ethnically based groups may lobby for certain foreign policy positions, and such age-based groups as retired persons may lobby on a range of issues affecting their identified interests. Foreign governments, charitable organizations, professional organizations and bodies all may seek to shape and influence policy. Besides the traditional law firms and associations, public relations firms, consulting groups, specialized accounting firms, and others are now engaged to perform a variety of lobbying activities.

While the records of a number of public policy groups that have engaged in extensive lobbying are in archival institutions, documenting the role of such groups has not been systematic and has not been coordinated with the development of congressional collections designed to document the history of Congress. Rather, the example of the Library of Congress Manuscript Division is more typical in that its collections development goals include documenting civil rights, suffrage and the women's movement, and the consumer movement, among other topics. Accordingly, many of the related research collections document lobbying activities in those areas that have been described as documentation goals and of greatest historical interest.

According to experts at the Library of Congress, because most lobbying occurs on issues of little general historical interest (very specific financial, tax, and trade matters, for example), much of lobbying, except for the very public information in the official records (hearing testimony, *Congressional Record* inserts) goes undocumented. Lobbying documentation in existing research collections primarily and most prominently is contained in the records of the organizations themselves (e.g., NAACP, environmental groups, consumer groups) and is related to a subject of general historical interest. Secondarily, in terms of access and usability, information about lobbying exists in the records of members of Congress and in committee records. While information in members' papers is readily apparent, it is time consuming to ferret out and evaluate because it most often is filed by subject mixed in with other material. The same holds true for committee records except that public testimony from lobbyists and *Congressional Record* inserts are readily accessible. Documentation efforts have not been coordinated among repositories to illustrate

systematically the role and evolution of lobbying per se.

Traditional lobbying—in which an individual lobbyist “buttonholes” a member of Congress—may never be documented in primary sources, so that journalistic accounts, photographs, and oral history interviews—especially with long-time lobbyists—will remain the most valuable sources in covering this aspect of lobbying.

In general, the papers of lobbying groups are subject to the fluctuations experienced by most organizations. High staff turnover and financial constraints may cause material to be distributed widely and difficult to locate. Long-standing groups, like the League of Woman Voters, American Library Association, National Education Association, Public Citizen, and labor organizations, as well as especially powerful groups like the Israeli, gun and senior citizens' lobbies, are likely to maintain more complete files and may have actually established adequate records programs.

The files of consulting and public relations firms have not been surveyed and evaluated for documentation purposes and will be less easily accessed. At least some firms contacted for background for this report keep only contract related documentation and telephone and appointment logs. Many firms would consider their relationship with their clients as privileged.

Because of disclosure (Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946) and recent campaign financing laws (Federal Election Campaign Act, 1972, and its amendments), much of what is known about lobbyists and PACs comes from registration and reports filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, the secretary of the Senate, and the Federal Election Commission (FEC). The adequacy of this documentation mirrors the overall weaknesses inherent in lobbying regulation itself, with many loopholes allowing avoidance of registration. Lobbying reports, including the Byrd Amendment Reports required of anyone seeking government loans, contracts, or grants above a specified amount, and FEC records are open to public inspection.

The FEC has the most up-to-date and comprehensive listings of PACs. Commission staff will answer questions on PACs and provide computer printout listings as well as copies of PAC financial disclosure reports. The FEC sells a four-volume publication *FEC Reports on*

Financial Activity: Final Report, Party and Non-Party Political Committees, which lists all of the PACs that were involved in a given election and registered with the FEC. The report also provides data on PAC receipts, expenditures, and contributions for the two-year election cycle.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Identification. Lobbying has played a critical role in the development of legislation and public policy since the beginning of the United States government. While documentation of lobbying exists primarily in collections of public interest groups that have found their way to research repositories, further thought should be given to evaluating lobbying information in light of the role lobbying plays in the legislative process. In this regard, archivists who wish to develop holdings on the legislative process and Congress should identify lobbyists and lobbying groups that have played a significant role in issue areas that the repository wishes to document. For example, if the repository holds collections of members who were outstanding in promoting national defense, that repository might wish to identify the firms and/or particular lobbyists associated with the efforts of the member.

2. Survey. The repository should survey the records of the sources (firms, individual lobbyists, public interest groups) it has identified, ascertain their status and availability for research, and appraise them for possible accessioning when appropriate.

3. Collections policy statement. A model congressional collections policy statement should include discussion of the records of lobbying groups, lobbyists, and PACs as potential sources for strengthening documentation of the legislative process. Criteria for selecting representative lobbying collections and appraisal criteria should be developed and incorporated into the statement.

4. Evaluation. Archivists should evaluate the broader rationale of the existing situation, where lobbying documentation exists because it is part of an institution's larger collecting goal, rather than being collected for purposes of adequately documenting the role of lobbying in the legislative process. Is the current procedure enough, or should archivists reevaluate and devise a separate documentation strategy for lobbying?

5. Lobbyists' papers. Archivists who decide to document the role of lobbying in the political/legislative process must be active in soliciting the papers of lobbyists and PACs. Lobbying groups should be encouraged to preserve their archives either in-house or by donating materials to an appropriate repository.

6. Oral history. Oral history interviews can capture information about the personal contact type of lobbying and, when long-time lobbyists are interviewed, present a picture of how lobbying has changed over time. Guidelines for political/congressional oral history projects should include discussion of the use of this source.

Part VI. External Relations: Congress and Think Tanks; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Think tanks are nongovernmental nonprofit public policy organizations that research and analyze matters of international, national, and local concern. They develop alternatives to the status quo and attempt to predict problems before they arise. They report and publicize their findings to interested individuals and groups, including members and staff in Congress. Think tanks that are classified as tax-exempt under the terms of the Internal Revenue Code, Section 501(c)(3), are prohibited from "extensive" lobbying. They do not give grants, but frequently receive them to employ economists, foreign policy experts, historians, political scientists, and sociologists to undertake specific projects.

Think tanks represent a variety of purposes, philosophies, procedures and audiences. Some operate as strict research centers, while others gather, evaluate, package and redistribute information originated by others. Some lean to the right politically, others to the left. While the classic think tanks believe in calm, reasoned objectivity, others take a more adversarial and polemical approach.

The early think tanks were set up to alleviate the problems of the poor. Institutions such as the National Conference on Social Welfare (founded in 1873) and the Russell Sage Foundation (founded in 1907) strove to provide better conditions for the indigent and the elderly. Following World War I, technical experts began advising federal leaders on economic and administrative matters. Predecessor organizations to what today is known as the Brookings Institution were established in the late 1910s and 1920s to promote efficiency in government and the development of sound economic management. After World War II, another type of think tank emerged, exemplified by the Rand Corporation, the largest of all such institutions, aiming to assist government in analyzing defense needs.

During the 1960s, think tanks developed an increasingly political cast as government agencies grew, corporate problems expanded, and political and foreign policy issues developed. The Center for Strategic and International Studies; the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace; the Urban Institute; and the Hudson Institute all were established in the 1960s. As conservative politics grew in the 1970s, a new breed of think tank emerged to either support or fight the movement. The Heritage Foundation is a successful example of a think tank established to promote neoconservative goals.

Continuous evolution in the nature of national problems may cause a given think tank to alter its focus. The Rand Corporation, for example, now devotes fifty percent of its research to nondefense policy analyses. It has recently established a Drug Policy Research Center and an Institute on Education and Training.

Many think tanks are based in Washington, DC. Others are located elsewhere but have Washington offices to be closer to decision makers. Think tanks today research and debate every political, economic, and social issue, including: crime, defense, the economy, education, the environment, health care, labor, the tax structure, trade policies, unemployment, and voting procedures. A number of published sources provide information on such groups:

—*Public Interest Profiles*, published biennially by Congressional Quarterly, Inc., is compiled by the Foundation for Public Affairs, a "national clearinghouse of information on corporate public affairs programs, public interest groups, and business/government issues." This selective guide provides information on about 250 major public interest and policy groups, of which twenty-six are identified as think tanks. These particular organizations were selected for inclusion based on an assessment of their influence on national policy, the number of requests received by FPA for background, the range and

quality of news coverage generated by each group, and the representative nature of the group in its field of interest. The directory explains the purpose of each think tank, the method of operation, the area of concern, publications produced, and an evaluation of each think tank's "effectiveness."

—The *Washington Information Directory*, published annually by Congressional Quarterly, Inc., is a guide to the Washington, DC area governmental and nongovernmental organizations, arranged by subject. Listed under each topic are the federal departments and agencies, congressional committees, and private nonprofit groups sharing that area of interest.

—Additional sources of information about such groups can be found in two Congressional Research Service publications: *Organizations and Associations: A List of Information Resources* by Walter S. Albano (91-658 C) and *Lobbyists and Interest Groups: A List of Information Sources* by Barbara Hillson (91-660 C).

Certain representative operating methods are common to the leading think tanks, although not all are used by all groups. Such groups institute awards programs, conferences and seminars; they prepare congressional testimony and analyses of congressional votes; conduct international activities, media outreach programs, and research; sponsor policy forums, luncheons, and speakers' programs; produce monographs and newsletters, film and video productions; maintain libraries or information clearinghouses; monitor legislation and regulatory activities; offer fellowship programs; and conduct polls.

Significant sources for documenting the role of think tanks in the legislative process reside in the published reports, journalistic accounts, newsletters, public forums and archival records of the organizations themselves. Documentation of their interaction with Congress appears in all of the above sources, as well as in pertinent collections of members' papers and in the records of congressional committees.

Typical archival sources maintained by individual think tanks include minutes of the executive board, directors' or presidents' correspondence files, department or division correspondence and research files, special project files, audiovisual materials, and a record set of the group's publications. Minutes and presidents' files document the growth and development of

the institution and reflect the governing philosophy of its leadership. Attitudes toward the government, the people served, and specific projects are revealed in these sources, as are the motivations and outlooks of institutional leaders. Photograph collections and audiovisual materials document conferences and forums sponsored by the think tanks. The relatively few think tanks that have established in-house archival programs of their own may even collect the personal papers of individuals closely associated with the organization.

B. Status of Documentation

In 1987, Michele Pacifico of the National Archives conducted a survey of selected representative think tanks in the Washington, DC, area. In a paper presented to the joint meeting of the National Council on Public History and the Society for History in the Federal Government, she reported that, while some of the older, traditional think tanks have established records programs, many of the newer groups have not. Most, however, retain copies of their publications and annual reports. At best, additional records are either still in office space or off-site storage. Following is a summary of the Pacifico report.

—Brookings Institution. The extensive archives of the Brookings Institution are described in a 260-page *Guide to the Brookings Institution Archives*, 1987. It includes administrative histories, series descriptions, select file title lists, and an index. The archives itself is open to researchers by appointment. The guide reflects a model archival program that is perhaps unique among think tanks.

—Urban Institute. The Urban Institute was founded in 1968 at the request of the Johnson administration to analyze the effectiveness of the Great Society programs. In 1982, efforts to organize its archives led to the creation of an information clearinghouse whereby publications, project reports, research articles, and article reprints were made available for sale. Archival records, relatively small in quantity compared to the clearinghouse materials, include annual reports, newsletters, presidential correspondence, board of trustees minutes, interim reports, photographs, congressional testimony, and newspaper clippings. The archives are open to the public by appointment.

—Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace functions as a synthesizer and publisher of policy-relevant research in foreign affairs. It was founded in 1910 by Andrew Carnegie and was the first foundation to focus on world affairs. Located in Washington, DC, it deposited its older archival files at Columbia University prior to 1962. They include a complete set of *CEIP Yearbooks* (1911–1947) and *Annual Reports* (from 1948), and correspondence, reports, and letters dating from 1910 to 1952. More current material remains on site.

—Center for Strategic and International Studies. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) was established in 1962 to research and analyze current international issues. Some of the institutional records were donated to Georgetown University's archives as part of founder David Abshire's papers. Other records reside at the Center.

—American Enterprise Institute. Second only to Brookings in budget and size, the American Enterprise Institute was founded in 1943 as a business association. In 1954 it was recast as a conservative think tank under the direction of William Baroody, Sr., to support the beliefs of free enterprise and an open forum for competition. Assuming control in 1977, Bill Baroody, Jr., guided the organization through a period of growth and diversification in all aspects of economic and foreign policy. An archival program, however, was never soundly established, and some records have departed. A record copy of all publications and annual reports exists, together with minutes of the board of trustees and related records. These materials are open to qualified researchers.

The 1987 survey showed that other public policy research organizations lacking formal archival programs included the Institute for Policy Studies, the Cato Institute, Resources for the Future, and the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies. All have maintained lists of publications, if not an actual record copy.

Development of the Brookings Institution archives in the 1980s served as a model to other think tanks, but, despite quickened interest, lack of funds for undertaking such programs has proved to be a big hurdle. Nonprofit institutions that rely on grants, contracts, and fellowships for their existence rarely allocate money to support an archives in-house. As the example of the Brookings archives shows, grant money is available from

sources like the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, but the grant-seeking institution must commit its own resources and future support to obtain such funding. Unfortunately, for most think tanks that are struggling just to obtain funds for primary research, development of an archives appears to be a dispensable luxury. In addition, many private repositories would be unable to accept the archives of think tanks unless accompanied by additional support.

A final obstacle was identified as a result of the survey, namely that most think tank administrators do not see establishing an archival program as a priority. As Michele Pacifico pointed out in her summary, "Most are not concerned about their institution's historical records and do not see the benefits in having an archives." While there frequently is someone on the staff who is interested (a librarian, for example), these individuals need encouragement and assistance.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Identification. Because think tanks have played an important role in the development of public policy, both in the executive branch and in Congress, archivists interested in the documentation of Congress should identify those think tanks that have played strong roles on the congressional scene.

2. Survey. When the think tanks have been identified, a systematic survey, building on the one conducted in 1987 by Michele Pacifico, should be undertaken to ascertain the status of archival programs and the availability of holdings for research.

3. Preservation. Think tanks active in the legislative area should be encouraged either to preserve their archives in-house or to donate materials to an appropriate repository. The institutions should be encouraged to provide whatever support they can to repositories that agree to accept their collections. One type of assistance, for example, might be preliminary processing to lessen the financial burden on the repository.

4. Repositories. Information obtained from a systematic survey can be used by repositories interested in developing holdings in the congressional area to identify potential collections. The

Center for Legislative Archives may wish to evaluate its interest in this area.

5. Policy statement. A model congressional collections policy statement should include a statement to the effect that the records of think tanks are a potential source for strengthening documentation of the legislative process.

6. Finding aids. Finding aids listing the location of think tank archives should be compiled and information regarding public access noted. This information should be made available to congressional researchers, especially in the Center for Legislative Archives and at other repositories that specialize in congressional materials. Preparation of such a finding aid would be useful in encouraging notable think tanks to identify and make provision for the long-term care of their historical records.

Chapter VI: Documenting Administration and Support

Part I. Administration and Support: A Definition

Administrative functions of Congress include formulating internal rules and operating procedures within each house, prescribing ethical norms, establishing administrative and support offices and agencies, providing for the physical plant, and maintaining security. The Constitution sets forth certain fundamental rules of procedure for each house. Besides judging the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, each body is authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, "in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide." In addition, the Constitution specifies that "Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member." This chapter covers documentation of House and Senate rules and procedures, administrative offices, buildings and grounds, and security, as well as the several support agencies to Congress: the General Accounting Office, the Congressional Research Service, the Office of Technology Assessment, the Congressional Budget Office, and the Government Printing Office.

House and Senate: Rules and Procedures

Internal rules and operating procedures of the House of Representatives and the Senate are governed by the rules adopted by each body, various laws, and precedents and standing orders.

Upon convening in March 1789, each body proceeded to adopt a set of rules. Over the past two hundred years these procedures have become refined as the two houses of Congress continue to hone the legislative process. The

House of Representatives, as a new body every two years, must adopt its rules with every Congress. The Senate, as a continuing body, votes its rules less frequently.

Various general and permanent laws relate to the operations of the House and Senate. Compiled in the House and Senate *Manuals* and published as House and Senate documents respectively, they regulate numerous aspects of congressional matters, including the election and compensation of members; investigation procedures; regulation of lobbying; offices of the legislative and legal counsels; the budget process; personnel financial disclosure reporting requirements; matters relating to the buildings, grounds, and security forces; and the public printing of documents.

Because formal rules do not cover every contingency that arises, each house passes its own non-statutory standing orders that affect and regulate its business. Such orders cover a wide variety of matters, such as regulation of the use of seals, procedures for closing a member's office, establishment of a permanent select committee on ethics, and procedures for impeachment trials. Precedents established by both bodies complement and supplement the standing rules.

The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and the House Administration Committee were given greatly expanded authorities in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. These committees make decisions regarding such matters as revision of the rules, regulations governing their respective wings of the Capitol, federal election practices, technical services such as procurement of computer and telecommunications services, inaugural ceremonies, libraries and memorials, the U.S. Capitol Police, and numerous other housekeeping and procedural matters that

touch on all aspects of administration within the House and Senate.

Each house, under the Constitution, has the power to punish its members for misconduct. While this power is used sparingly, members have been expelled, censured or reprimanded.

Administrative Support

Officers of the House of Representatives and the Senate, elected by each body upon the convening of a new Congress, administer the day-to-day operations of Congress. In the Senate, these officers are the secretary of the Senate and the sergeant at arms; in the House, they are the clerk of the House, the sergeant at arms, the doorkeeper, and the postmaster. The duties of these officers are enumerated in the rules of the respective body, and in accordance with these rules they supervise the necessary support staff.

On April 9, 1992, the House of Representatives adopted H. Res. 432, amending the rules of the House to provide for certain changes in the administrative operations of the House. The key changes are as follows: The position of postmaster was eliminated. The position of director of non-legislative and financial services was created and those responsibilities performed by the clerk, the sergeant at arms, and the doorkeeper transferred to it. The position of inspector general was also created. Details of this reform package are to be found in H. Res. 423, 102d Congress, 2d Session. These changes were being implemented as this report goes to press.

Administrative responsibilities of the House and Senate have grown to include processing legislation, carried out by the various legislative clerks; producing the *Journal* and the *Congressional Record*; maintaining a library; providing printing services; maintaining the document room, which distributes publications to congressional offices and the public; administering the payroll; coordinating the services of the parliamentarian's office; running a stationery room; providing administrative service to interparliamentary groups; serving as liaison to the Federal Election Commission; administering curatorial, conservation, historical, and archival services; and administering the computer centers, parking, police, post offices, recording studios, telecommunications, photographic studios, and reprographic services.

Because there are two officers with such administrative duties in the Senate and four in the House, the division of responsibilities in the two houses differs. The *Congressional Directory* and the current House and Senate telephone directories provide a specific breakdown for each body. A core responsibility of the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate is to maintain as archival documents certificates of election and related official paperwork.

In the House of Representatives contested elections are investigated by the Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Elections (before the Legislative Reorganization Act known as the Committee on Elections). After it investigates, the full committee makes a report to the House. Following the committee report, there may be legislative proceedings, and the member may be seated pursuant to a House resolution. In the Senate, inquiries regarding contested elections are handled by the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Among their other responsibilities the sergeants at arms carry out the constitutional provision that authorizes each body to compel the attendance of absent members (Article I, section 5).

In addition, each body has a chaplain, also elected at the beginning of each Congress. By tradition, the daily meetings of each house have opened with prayer, sometimes delivered by the official chaplain, sometimes by a visiting spiritual leader. The chaplains also offer invocations and benedictions at public ceremonies at the Capitol, such as lyings-in-state and dedications. The chaplains also serve as spiritual advisers to the members of Congress.

Buildings and Grounds

Administration of the Capitol Building and grounds and the House and Senate office buildings is performed by the Office of the Architect of the Capitol. While the office was not established as a permanent entity until 1876 when it assumed functions performed previously by the commissioner of public buildings, its responsibilities date to 1793. Additional buildings and grounds have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol over the years, including the Library of Congress buildings and grounds, the United States Supreme Court, and

the Capitol Power Plant. Under the direction of the Senate Committee of Rules and Administration, the architect is charged with the care and maintenance of the Senate office buildings. Similarly, under the direction of the House Office Building Commission, the architect manages the House office buildings. At the direction of the Joint Committee on the Library, he serves as the acting director of the U.S. Botanic Garden. In addition, the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, in conjunction with the Capitol Preservation Commission, provides for the care of the works of art on the Capitol grounds. The Office of the Architect employs approximately 2000 people.

Security

The sergeants at arms of the House of Representative and the Senate handle security for the Capitol Building. Security installations are handled by the architect of the Capitol upon the direction of either or both bodies, as the situation dictates. The U.S. Capitol Police are administered by the Capitol Police Board, composed of both sergeants at arms and the architect of the Capitol. Police and security matters are also under the jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Personnel and Police and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

Congressional Agencies: Library of Congress

Congress has four support agencies that perform specialized functions aimed at providing needed support for legislative and oversight purposes. The oldest is the Library of Congress, established in 1800. From its modest beginnings as a small library, the library today employs over 5000 people to carry out its dual functions of serving Congress and serving as a national library by acquiring, organizing, and dispensing human knowledge.

The **Congressional Research Service** is the division of the Library of Congress charged with responding to requests for information from Congress. The mission of CRS, as mandated in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, is to provide Congress with analytical research and reference assistance, without partisan bias, in support

of its legislative, oversight, and representative functions. Congressional staff probably regard this division as the most important in the Library. Responses to congressional inquiries may take one or more of the following forms: telephone call, collection of newspaper clippings, referral to a book or other publication, referral to such CRS publications as an Info Pack or issue brief, a memorandum of direct response, a personal conference, a background report, a legal analysis, or an in-depth policy research study.

General Accounting Office

The General Accounting Office, founded in 1921, has evolved from performing routine audits of accounts to conducting investigations and providing analyses of program planning and management. It is charged with examining all matters relating to the receipt and expenditure of public funds. It is under the direction of the comptroller general of the United States, who is appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of fifteen years. The majority of GAO reviews are conducted in response to specific congressional committee requests. Other assignments result from standing commitments to congressional committees, and some reviews are specifically required by law. Some are performed in accordance with basic legislative responsibilities.

Office of Technology Assessment

The Technology Assessment Act of 1972 created the Office of Technology Assessment to serve Congress by analyzing major public policy issues related to scientific and technological change. It reports on the scientific and technical impact of government policies and proposed legislation. The office consists of a Technology Assessment Board, a director, a Technology Assessment Advisory Council, and regular employees and consultants as needed. OTA studies are directed at assessing complex scientific and technological issues, helping to resolve conflicting claims, identifying alternative options, and highlighting new developments that could have implications for future policies. Such studies are comprehensive and may take a year or two to complete. Requests for assessments are submitted by congressional committees. OTA staff also draw on prior and

current research to provide briefings, testimony, and special reports to congressional committees. OTA's published reports are available to the public.

Congressional Budget Office

The Congressional Budget Office was established by the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, which created the procedure by which Congress weighs priorities for national resource allocation and fiscal policy. The process allows Congress to make overall decisions regarding spending and taxing and the resulting deficit or surplus. CBO supplies Congress with basic budget data and analyzes alternative fiscal, budgetary, and programmatic policy issues. Included among its specific functions are economic forecasting and fiscal policy analysis; "scorekeeping," or monitoring congressional actions on individual authorization, appropriation, and revenue bills against the targets specified in the concurrent budget resolution; preparation of five-year cost estimates for bills reported by committees and for continuing

programs; issuing an annual report on the budget that discusses alternative spending and revenue levels in light of major national needs; and carrying out special studies as requested.

Government Printing Office

Another legislative branch agency is the Government Printing Office, which is charged with printing, binding, and distributing the publications of Congress, as well as those of executive departments and agencies of the federal government. Founded in 1860, GPO also carries out such other activities as printing and binding; furnishing blank paper, inks, and supplies; preparation of catalogs and distribution and marketing of approximately 20,000 government publications. The office contracts with commercial suppliers on a variety of printing and binding services. It also administers the depository library program, through which selected government publications are made available in libraries throughout the country.

Part II. Administration and Support: House and Senate; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

Rules and Procedures

The authority for administering both houses of Congress is found in Article I, section 5, of the Constitution. Paragraph 1 provides that "Each House shall be the Judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members." Paragraph 2 reads, in part, "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member."

The standing rules of each house are published as House and Senate documents. In addition, both bodies use *Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, prepared by Vice President Thomas Jefferson when he was presiding officer of the Senate.

The Senate supplements the rules with standing orders, which affect and regulate its business. For the Senate these have been published in *Senate Procedure* by Dr. Floyd Riddick. Senate precedents are also compiled in the LEGIS data base, an in-house data base primarily designed to track legislation and to provide members with lists of measures sponsored and cosponsored and of committee membership.

For the House of Representatives, they are found in *Cannon's Precedents*, *Hinds' Precedents*, and *Deschler's Precedents*, named for the parliamentarians who compiled them. Procedures of the House of Representatives are also found in *Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives* by Clarence Cannon and in *Deschler's Procedure in the House of Representatives* by Lewis Deschler. Administrative rulings regarding matters not covered by the rules of the House can be made by the Committee on House Administration, either by the full committee, by an ad hoc subcommittee, or in informal consultation with members and staff.

House rules, precedents, and procedures are also available on an in-house data base developed by House Information Systems, Committee on House Administration.

The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and the House Committee on Rules make recommendations regarding the revision of the rules of the respective body and maintain supporting documentation, which is transferred to the archives when no longer needed for current business.

Elections

Certificates of election and related official paperwork are kept by the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate and are retained as archival sources.

In the House of Representatives contested elections are investigated by the Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Elections (before the Legislative Reorganization Act known as the Committee on Elections). After it investigates, the full committee makes a report to the House. Following the committee report, there may be legislative proceedings, and the member may be seated pursuant to a House resolution. In the Senate, inquiries regarding contested elections are handled by the Committee on Rules and Administration. Committee records resulting from such activity are covered by the disposition guidelines and rules of each house, which provide for the preservation of this material in the legislative archives.

Ethics

While the power to punish its members for misconduct has been used sparingly, members have been expelled, censured, or reprimanded. Ethical investigations may be handled by a special committee, a subcommittee of a standing committee, or the established ethics committees. In 1954, the Senate established a Select Committee on

Standards and Conduct, which was replaced by the Select Committee on Ethics in 1977. In 1968, rules concerning fund raising and the use of financial disclosure statements were adopted. In 1967 the House of Representatives established a bipartisan Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. This committee recommended a code of official conduct and requirements for financial disclosure. When these rules were adopted, the committee was made permanent and given investigative and enforcement powers. In 1977, the House and Senate adopted separate but similar codes of ethics for members and staff and in 1978 passed the Ethics in Government Act, which applied to the executive and judicial branches as well as to Congress. Creation of ethics committees in the House and Senate institutionalized the responsibility of Congress to police itself. Extensive archival records are maintained by the Ethics committees.

Administrative Support

Many of the records of the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate, especially floor proceedings, are published, as in the instance of the *Congressional Record* and the Daily Digest, which is a summary of actions in the daily *Record*. For those that are not published, a record set of bills at various stages, as well as reports, presidential messages, and minutes, is retained and deposited in the National Archives.

Official paperwork and documents, especially those pertaining to elections, are regularly preserved and transferred to the Archives by the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate. Information on contested elections appears in the *Congressional Record* and also in the records of the designated committees of each house as detailed above. Committee records are transferred to the Archives.

Records of the Senate sergeant-at-arms—including material related to ensuring attendance—are appraised when requested and forwarded to the Archives. Documentation in sergeant at arms records would include a copy of the order and any other related memos or communications. Recent instances have also been reported in the Capitol Hill newspaper *Roll Call* and photographed by the press. There is no comprehensive schedule for records of the sergeant at arms, although an out-of-date draft schedule exists. House sergeant at

arms records do not have established guidelines, and no records have been transferred to the Archives.

Members of Congress oversee administrative activities in the Senate through the Committee on Rules and Administration, which has no subcommittees, and in the House through the Committee on House Administration, which has subcommittees on accounts, office systems, elections, personnel and police, procurement and printing, libraries and memorials, House information systems, and the office management demonstration and training center. Further responsibilities are shared by the Joint Committee on the Library and the Joint Committee on Printing.

The chaplains' daily prayers are published in the *Congressional Record* and in the proceedings of any special events in which the chaplains participate.

Buildings and Grounds

The architect of the Capitol, acting as an agent of Congress, is charged with the structural and mechanical care of the Capitol and grounds. The bulk of records of this office remain in the custody of the office. A description of the records of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol that have been transferred to the Archives is found in the *Guide to the Records of the United States Senate* and the *Guide to the Records of the United States House of Representatives*, both published by the National Archives.

Security

Records of the Capitol police are retained by the police. Other records relating to security may be found in the records of the sergeants at arms and the pertinent House and Senate committees.

B. Status of Documentation

Rules and Procedures

The rules and procedures of both houses are thoroughly documented in the publications cited above, in the records of the respective Rules committees, and in the records of the respective offices of the parliamentarian. Committee records are covered by the guidelines of each house, *Records Management Handbook for United States Senate Com-*

mittees and Committee Records Guidelines, committee print, June 1990, Committee on House Administration. While the Senate parliamentarian's office has not transferred records to the Archives, disposition of the records is detailed in *Records Disposition Procedures for the Offices of the Secretary of the Senate*, by Karen D. Paul, 1990.

Elections

Official paperwork and documents are regularly preserved and transferred to the Archives by the clerk of the House and the secretary of the Senate. Information on contested elections appears in the *Congressional Record* and also in the records of the designated committees of each house as detailed above. Committee records are transferred to the Archives.

Ethics

Ethics committee records are covered in records management publications of each house and are transferred to the Archives. They are exceptionally complete.

Administrative and Support Offices

Records of the secretary of the Senate, but not the sergeant at arms' office, are described and scheduled as cited above. There are no written guidelines for House clerk's and sergeant at arms' holdings, although the clerk does send material similar to the Senate secretary's holdings to the Archives. Committee oversight records are covered by guidelines and are sent to the Archives. Senate chaplain records have been sent to the Archives, but no House chaplain records have been sent to date. This material is not scheduled but is appraised and accepted when offered. Records of the Joint Committee on the Library and the Joint Committee on Printing have not been appraised, but are transferred to the Archives pursuant to the rules of each body.

Architect of the Capitol

Records maintained by the architect's office are very complete and are managed through a records

management program. The archival materials are not thoroughly arranged and described, and there is no guide to the holdings. The records are open for research, with the exception of current projects, accounting records, and records relating to security of the Capitol.

Security

Documentation of security is retained in the offices cited above. The records of the Office of Senate Security have been surveyed and appraised and are covered in *Disposition Procedures of the Office of the Secretary of the Senate*. The Capitol police maintain an active records management program but have not transferred material to the Archives.

C. Recommended Actions

- 1. Sergeant at arms.** Records of the sergeant at arms of each house should be surveyed, appraised, and scheduled.
- 2. Clerk of the House.** Records of the offices of the clerk of the House of Representatives should be surveyed, appraised, and scheduled.
- 3. Architect of the Capitol.** A guide to the holdings of the architect of the Capitol should be produced and distributed. Records documenting buildings in Washington other than those of the Congress and Capitol Hill should be evaluated for transfer to appropriate archival repositories where they would be preserved and made available for research (e.g., Smithsonian Institution buildings to Smithsonian, other records to National Archives). These could be deposited with ownership retained by the architect.
- 4. Legislative counsel.** Records of the legislative counsel of each house should be surveyed, appraised, and scheduled.
- 5. Capitol police.** An offer should be extended to transfer the historical files of the Capitol police to the Archives.

Part III. Administration and Support: The General Accounting Office; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

The General Accounting Office, established by the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, is the investigative arm of Congress and examines all matters related to the receipt and expenditure of public funds. Over five thousand staff members are organized by issue areas to support GAO reviews of any government function. The work takes staff members to locations in all fifty states and many foreign countries. Reviews include evaluating a program's compliance with applicable laws and regulations and determining the reliability of associated data that is furnished to Congress. In a larger sense, investigations seek to assess whether programs are achieving the desired results or whether changes in policies or management are needed. Reviews may consider whether there are better ways of accomplishing a particular program's objectives or seek to identify key emerging issues for Congress.

The GAO also helps to ensure that Congress has available accurate financial management data. To do so, it prescribes accounting principles and standards for the executive branch, advises other agencies on fiscal policies and procedures, and prescribes standards for auditing and evaluating government programs. Legal services also are provided to Congress in the form of advice on legal issues involving government programs, assistance in drafting and reviewing legislation, and reporting on proposed rescissions and deferrals of government funds.

Depending on the nature of the assignment, the GAO work product may take many forms, including testimony, oral briefings, and written reports. Unclassified reports are available to the public. Finally, GAO has a staff of trained investigators who conduct special investigations and assist auditors and evaluators when they encounter possible criminal and civil misconduct. Such cases are referred to the Department of Justice and other law enforcement authorities as warranted.

"A-" and "B-" Files

The National Archives holds virtually no GAO records. Access to documentation of GAO's history is difficult, yet excellent records exist. Much is buried in **"A-" and "B-" files**, a series of case files that originated in 1921. A-files go to 1939; B-files go from 1939 to the present. These files have been maintained since 1921 within the Office of General Counsel (OGC), which was central to operations during GAO's early years. The files that compose this very large series are of varying historical value and interest. The series is, however, well indexed. A card index system, providing access by subject, name, and A/B number, operated from 1921 to 1978 when a computerized system was developed. The card index system is still used occasionally. The A/B files are not available to the public and currently have an eighty-year retention period.

Decisions and Letters

Another large body of information within OGC is the series of bound manuscript volumes entitled *Decisions and Letters*, begun in 1921 and continuing to the present. A card index system provides subject access to individual documents from 1921 to 1978. The computer system provides access from 1978 to the present. The *Decisions and Letters* series has a permanent retention period and most of the series is available to the public.

GAO also has published volumes of *Decisions of the Comptroller General of the United States*, 1921 to the present. Decisions included in the volumes represent about 10 percent of the decisions rendered each year and are selected on the basis of future value because of the precedents and issues involved.

GAO Reports

While GAO performed mostly voucher auditing and rendered Comptroller General Decisions

in its earlier years, it also reported to Congress through letters. Such letter reports as early as 1924 may be found in *Decisions and Letters* discussed above. In addition to its letter reports and the familiar "bluecover" or chapter reports which probably evolved in the 1940s and 1950s, GAO developed other types of reports in recent years in order to better serve Congress. These include briefing documents and fact sheets. A retrospective collection of GAO Reports exists on microfiche from c. 1976 to the present and has a permanent retention period. Classified reports are microfiched after declassification.

GAO Reports are available to the public through GAO's Information Handling Support Facility (IHSF), which is operated under contract.

GAO Documents Data Base

GAO Reports are abstracted, indexed, and entered into this data base with multiple points of access. "GAO Documents," one of several data files in the IHSF, includes GAO reports, testimony, and speeches from c. 1976 to the present. Because GAO did not keep a copy of each of its chapter reports until recent years, no comprehensive report collection exists, although titles were listed for many years in GAO's *Annual Report*. GAO's classified reports are entered into this data base after they have been declassified. (Most chapter reports appear in Congressional Research Service's SCORPIO data base as well.) The public may access this data base only through requests to the IHSF, as of this writing.

Workpapers

Workpapers document the performance of GAO's audit and evaluation work, and support the findings, conclusions, and recommendations which appear in its products. Workpapers form a large body of information for each GAO report. Most GAO workpapers have a three-year retention period. Recognizing that GAO assignments cover almost all activities of the federal government and that some of this work concerns issues of long-range significance in American history, GAO has recently proposed a policy of identifying historically significant assignments so that selected workpapers and assignment files (discussed below) may be retained for twenty years. These may be offered to the National Archives for accession.

Assignment Files

These files document key events and decisions affecting the conduct of each GAO assignment. The system consists of the **master job file**, the **master product folder** and the **signature package**. The **master job file** is the main file of key documents concerning decisions and events that affected a job's history. The **master product folder** is the official supplemental file that provides a record of a product's developmental history. The **signature package** contains important documents that support the issuance of a product. The retention period for these files is three years. If the product has been identified as historically significant, the files will be retained for twenty years and may be offered to the Archives for accession.

Bill Comments

Congress often asks GAO to provide comments on legislative bills. These comments are prepared by the GAO division or office whose work is most relevant to the subject matter of the bill and are reviewed by OGC and by the Office of Congressional Relations (OCR). The record copy is retained in GAO for three years, then retained in the Federal Records Center at Suitland, MD, for five years, after which time it is destroyed.

Legislative Histories

In 1921, GAO began preparing a legislative history on each bill that affected GAO. In 1931, GAO expanded this project to include *all bills* introduced in Congress. This unique collection resides in the Legislative Section of the GAO Law Library and in the Federal Records Center. Within the past decade, GAO initiated a project to microfiche the legislative histories, but lack of funds caused termination of the project after the 1921 to c. 1977 histories had been microfiched. GAO recently entered an agreement with a commercial firm to resume the project, but filming has not yet begun. The long-term continuation of this project will probably depend upon the firm's success in selling sets of fiche to libraries and other repositories. By law, the National Archives will receive a set of the microfiche. Researchers may use the legislative histories in the GAO Law Library.

Auditing and Reporting Publications

GAO has an integrated hierarchical system of policy and procedures manuals which were developed to help GAO staff do its work of planning, implementing, and reporting on assignments: *General Policy Manual*, *Project Manual*, and *Communications Manual*. This manual system, which is now automated, evolved from other manuals, such as the *Comprehensive Audit Manual* (CAM), the *Report Manual*, and other technical auditing and reporting publications. Some of the latter type were issued for both internal and external guidance. While a complete collection does not exist in any single place, some nonrecord copies of these earlier publications may be located in the GAO Room of the Law Library, on microfiche through the GAO Documents Database, or the GAO History Program Archives.

Orders, Regulations, Circulars, Bulletins, Memoranda

GAO promulgates various categories of communications, internal and external. While not a complete and comprehensive historical collection, some copies exist in the GAO Room of the GAO Law Library, a quasi-archival collection of published materials and records "by or about GAO." These are not record copies, but in some instances for GAO's early years the items are the only known extant copies.

Products for the Guidance of Other Organizations

Legislation often gives GAO additional responsibilities. The Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950 specified that GAO would prescribe the accounting principles and standards for other federal agencies and approve the agencies' accounting systems. "Accounting Principles Memoranda," begun in 1952, evolved into the current *Policies and Procedures Manual for the Guidance of Federal Agencies*, familiarly known as the "Redbook."

Under the same legislation, a later publication (1972) that emanated from the need for federal, state and local auditing of Great Society programs is *Standards for Audit of Governmental Organizations, Programs, Activities, and Functions*, commonly known as the "Yellowbook." The latest

edition of the Yellowbook was issued in 1988. Supplements to the standards were issued serially for additional guidance.

Nonrecord Materials

Since its inception in the mid-1980s, the GAO History Program Archives has accepted and accessioned donations of nonrecord material from various sources. This includes collections of personal papers.

B. Status of Documentation

Comprehensive Records Schedule (CRS)

The sources of documentation discussed above in Section A (with the exception of orders, regulations, etc. and nonrecord material described above) are covered in the *GAO Comprehensive Records Schedule* (CRS). The CRS was published in 1984 as GAO Order 0413.1 and implemented in 1986 after pilot training. The GAO Standardized Subjective Filing System, published as GAO Order 0462.1, was implemented also in FY 1986.

The GAO Manual System

The GAO Manual System, which consists of the *Communications Manual*, the *Policy Manual*, and the *Project Manual*, delineate in detail the policy and procedures for the conduct of the evaluation and the preparation of GAO products. For instance, the system specifies how a GAO assignment is to be conducted and documented from beginning to end, and specifies the disposition of records according to the CRS.

The GAO Room

The GAO Room of the Law Library, according to a long-standing practice and informal policy, holds materials written by or about GAO. Thus, this collection includes such materials as books, theses and dissertations, manuals, early GAO orders, regulations and memoranda. There appear to be no written guidelines about this collection, apart from GAO Library selection policy for published materials. Books, theses and dissertations are cataloged and may be accessed through the card catalog. Other materials are not cataloged,

but are shelved logically. Much of this material is archival and is accessed through browsing or through a librarian; there are no finding aids. Since it exists on open shelves, it is subject to loss.

Status of Implementation of Records Management Guidelines

The GAO Records Management Center (RMC) provided agency-wide training in the Subjective Filing System and conducted compliance audits after two years. RMC conducts in-briefings and out-briefings for division managers, and sends discrepancy reports. RMC believes adherence to the CRS is generally good, but that it varies from office to office or division.

There is strict adherence to the policies, procedures, and methods of developing GAO products, as outlined in the GAO Manual System.

C. Recommended Actions

1. A- and B-files. Survey and appraise the A and B Files and change the retention period. Dating from 1921, these subject files comprise a great mass of information of varying historical value. They occupy a great amount of space in the Federal Records Center and in GAO. Because the files deal with GAO's work with other federal agencies, they contain much documentation about the history of the federal government and the nation itself. The CRS specifies a retention period of eighty years for these files, which means that ten years from now, in 2001, the materials dated 1921 can be destroyed.

These subject files often concern ongoing issues, and may contain material dating over a period of twenty years. There are 999,999 A-files and over 244,000 B-files, some of which contain multiple folders. **The files should be reviewed file by file, and item by item.** This is the only method by

which important historical materials may be identified and saved for permanent retention, while allowing other material of little value to be destroyed. The selected materials should then be offered to the Archives for accessioning.

The retention period should be waived pending a full review of the files, and the materials the review selects as historically valuable should then be given permanent retention status and be transferred to the Center for Legislative Archives.

This project may require special funding, since it will be time-consuming and probably take several years. It should be carried out by professional historians and archivists devoted specifically to the task.

2. The GAO Room. Archival Materials in the GAO Room of the Law Library, consisting of orders, circulars, bulletins, and memoranda should be surveyed and evaluated as potential record copy because a record copy may not exist elsewhere. Consideration should be given to assessing each item in the collection and offering items of historical value to the Archives for accessioning, subject to prior discussion with GAO officials. Items of special significance should be evaluated for preservation copying, using either microfilm or other technology.

3. Comprehensive records schedule. A comprehensive review of the GAO Comprehensive Records Schedule should be undertaken in order to identify additional historical materials that should be kept permanently. The schedule should reflect the information retention needs of the House and Senate, which it currently does not.

4. Administration of records. All GAO historical records should be under the administration of the Center for Legislative Archives and should be administered in a manner similar to House and Senate records.

Part IV. Administration and Support: Congressional Research Service, the Office of Technology Assessment, the Congressional Budget Office, and the Government Printing Office; Sources, Status of Documentation, Recommended Actions

A. Sources of Documentation

The Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress

Only CRS is covered in this report, not the entire Library of Congress. CRS is the division most closely associated with Congress and the legislative process. Records of the Library itself are maintained according to the Library's archival and records management program. They are not transferred to the National Archives, as they are related to ongoing Library administration.

The Legislative Reference Service was established within the Library of Congress in 1914 to provide specialized services to "Congress and committees and Members thereof." In 1946, the service was given permanent status as a separate department of the library and was directed to employ specialists to cover several broad subject areas. Under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, the name was changed to the Congressional Research Service and it was given greater administrative and fiscal independence. The act provided for enhancement of CRS's analytical research capabilities by adding "senior specialists" and by emphasizing research support to congressional committees.

CRS is organized into seven research divisions, two library information divisions, and several specialized offices. The research divisions are American Law, Economics, Education and Public Welfare, Environment and Natural Resources Policy, Foreign Affairs and National Defense, Government, and Science Policy Research. The reference and library information divisions are Congressional Reference and Library Services. The specialized offices are Special Programs, Operations,

Policy, Research Coordination, and the Director's Office.

There are approximately 860 staff representing diverse professions. They include attorneys, economists, engineers, information scientists, librarians, defense and foreign affairs analysts, political scientists, public administrators, and physical and behavioral scientists.

Services include the provision of in-depth policy analyses, legal research, legislative histories, and tailored research, as well as basic information services. Information can be in the form of statistics, biographies, quotations, books, articles, reports and studies, general background information, and bibliographies. These may take the form of unique documents and memoranda, CRS publications (studies, reports, issue briefs), or audiovisual formats, as well as presentations at individualized briefings, seminars, or workshops.

CRS senior specialists provide oral or written analyses to members and committees. They may even assist Congress by functioning as staff consultants or project directors for committees on a term basis. Assistance to committees includes analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of legislative proposals. This activity includes determining the feasibility of proposals and evaluating alternative options. Assistance in the preparation of hearings includes identifying and suggesting outside specialists as possible witnesses, preparing questions, and analyzing testimony. At the beginning of each Congress, CRS is required to provide each committee with a list of subject and policy areas that the committee may wish to pursue in depth, together with a list of all programs and activities within the committee's jurisdiction that are scheduled to expire in the coming Congress. Staff, upon request, will prepare analyses of programs and subjects, including information on

program accomplishments, interest group positions, and relevant major studies.

CRS publications include: *Issue Briefs*, the *CRS Review*, *Major Legislation of the Congress*, and *Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions*. The *Issue Briefs* series includes definitions and background information on issues and may contain policy analysis and legislative highlights, notes on committee hearings and reports, chronologies, and bibliographies. *CRS Review* is issued monthly and features forums on major issues and articles on other issues. *Major Legislation of the Congress* is issued twice a year and describes significant congressional activity. The *Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions* is printed at the conclusion of each session and is available via SCORPIO terminals. It is a comprehensive summary and status of bills and resolutions introduced in each session.

Audiovisual material includes cable television programs, audio briefs, and videotape presentations. The cable programs include professional development topics, such as a series of lectures on legislative procedures and preparing legislative histories, and workshops detailing congressional oversight. CRS seminars are videotaped highlights of selected seminars on a variety of issues. Special programming focuses on selected current topics and may feature CRS policy analysts and nationally recognized experts. Audio briefs consist of the audio portion of many CRS programs and seminars. Supplemental training is offered through videotape presentation on various topics, including such subjects as "How Congress Works," "Legislative Procedures in the U.S. Congress," and "Legislative Reference Shelf."

The Office of Technology Assessment

The Office of Technology Assessment is charged with providing congressional committees with objective, thorough analyses of technological issues. P.L. 92-484 specifies the function of OTA as providing early indications of beneficial and adverse impacts of technological applications. Accordingly, the office identifies existing or probable impacts of technology; ascertains, where possible, cause-and-effect relationships; identifies and compares alternative technological methods or programs; presents findings to the appropriate legislative authorities; identifies areas where additional research is required; and undertakes associated activities when necessary.

OTA is governed by a congressional board, the Technology Assessment Board, and is advised by the ten-member Technology Assessment Council. The comptroller general of the United States and the director of the Congressional Research Service are statutory members of the Council. The congressional board is the sole and exclusive body governing OTA. It appoints the director, who is the chief executive officer of OTA and a nonvoting member of the board. The board is made up of six senators and six representatives, evenly divided by party. The posts of chairman and vice chairman alternate between the House and Senate with each Congress.

The office is organized into three analytical divisions, each headed by an assistant director. The divisions are: Energy, Materials, and International Security Sciences; Health and Life; and Science, Information and Natural Resources. There are approximately 145 permanent staff. The office may contract for research and services when necessary and makes use of advisory panels of technical experts that are assembled for each major study to ensure that reports are objective, authoritative, and fair.

OTA undertakes assessments at the request of the chairman of any congressional committee, who may request the work personally, on behalf of a ranking minority member, or on behalf of a majority of committee members. In addition, the OTA Board and the director may also request work. In practice, most studies are requested by the chairman and the ranking member of a committee, and many are supported by more than one committee. The majority of studies involve comprehensive assessments that take one to two years to complete. OTA also responds to more immediate requests in the form of briefings, testimony, special reports, technical memoranda, background papers, case studies, workshop proceedings, and staff papers.

Congressional Budget Office

The Congressional Budget Office was created by the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (Titles I-ix, P.L. 93-344). Its mission is to provide economic and budgetary information in support of the congressional budget and legislative process. The act established a process for setting budget targets and created three new institutions to carry out the process: the Congressional Budget Office,

and budget committees in both the House and the Senate.

CBO's functions include providing budgetary assistance, economic analysis, and policy analysis. Budgetary activities include supplying Congress with cost estimates on pending legislation, score-keeping reports, and five-year budget projections. CBO produces annual reports on fiscal policy, economic factors, national budget priorities, and alternative allocations of budgetary resources. In 1981, the scope of CBO's cost estimates on pending legislation was expanded to include information on the costs to state and local governments of complying with the proposed federal legislation.

CBO's director is jointly appointed by the Speaker of the House and the president pro tempore of the Senate. The staff is organized along functional lines to include program divisions for budget, fiscal, tax, natural resources and commerce, human resources and community development, and national security analysis. There are approximately 225 permanent staff.

A major CBO publication is its annual report to the budget committees, which actually is two separate documents: one providing economic and budget projections over the next five years with a discussion of fiscal policy issues, and the other detailing spending and revenue options for reducing the budget deficit. CBO also makes economic forecasts and projections. The forecasts reflect the judgment of CBO staff and a panel of economic advisers about the course of the economy over the next eighteen to twenty-four months.

Biannual budget projections present the most recent budgetary decisions of Congress and show the effects on the federal budget if no new policy decisions are made during the next five years. They provide a benchmark against which to measure proposed taxing and spending legislation. The base-line projection information is used to develop the annual budget resolutions and reconciliation instructions. CBO uses this information to produce cost estimates and score-keeping tabulations.

Since 1982, the annual report has included a separate volume that addresses alternative strategies for reducing the deficit and presents specific spending and revenue options for Congress to consider. CBO presents an annual analysis of the president's budget. Upon the request of congressional committees, CBO also produces analyses of specific program and policy issues that affect the

federal budget. These analyses usually result in published reports and studies, but may result in unpublished staff papers or memorandums. The number of unpublished papers, memos, and letters to committees has increased in recent years as the focus of legislative activity has shifted under budgetary pressures.

Cost estimates for specific bills are provided to committees reporting spending legislation. This information is printed with the bill and is used to determine whether the committees are in compliance with the annual budget resolutions. Outlay estimates for all appropriations bills, in the form of computer tabulations, are prepared for the appropriations committees. This information is used to determine whether subcommittees are in compliance with the annual budget resolution allocations for appropriations. CBO keeps track of all spending and revenue legislation through a score-keeping system data base that contains more than a thousand separate spending accounts. Computer tabulations derived from this system are frequently distributed to the budget and appropriations committees.

Two sequestration reports are prepared each year that estimate whether current spending and taxing will result in deficits exceeding budgetary targets and, if so, the amount of already authorized and appropriated spending that must be sequestered to eliminate the excess. These reports are advisory and serve as a benchmark for judging the accuracy of the Office of Management and Budget sequestration calculations.

CBO staff frequently testify before congressional committees, often in connection with an ongoing or completed report. CBO is a popular and credible source of information for the press.

To accomplish its work, CBO uses data generated by federal agencies and other sources. These include agency program data, periodic censuses and population surveys, and research studies by private groups. To prepare estimates and analyses, CBO frequently employs computer simulations of large microdata sets and spread-sheet analysis on personal computers. CBO has developed quantitative methods and models for estimating and projecting budget revenues and outlays. Examples include models that have been developed to determine interest costs on the federal debt, farm commodity price supports, and individual income tax receipts. CBO also uses models built and maintained elsewhere.

The Government Printing Office

The Government Printing Office was established in 1860 as the congressional agency that prints, binds, and distributes government publications, forms, and blank books, as outlined in 82 Stat. 1238; 44 U.S.C. 101 et seq., October 22, 1968. It produces the publications of Congress: bills, public laws, committee reports, the *Congressional Record* and the *Congressional Directory*. The Printing Act of 1895 authorized the operations of the superintendent of documents and the Library Division. The Library Division compiles and issues the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications*, in which cataloging, indexing, and terms of availability are shown for publications issued by the departments and agencies of government. The division converts many publications to microfiche for distribution to depository libraries. These libraries receive copies from GPO of selected government publications, including those required by law to be made public. Publications that are microfiched are not retained in paper form.

The director of the agency has the title of public printer. There are a deputy and various assistant public printers for operations and procurement, finance, and administration. The superintendent of documents oversees documents sales, the library programs, and marketing. More than five thousand people work for GPO.

B. Status of Documentation

CRS

The Library of Congress archives includes documentation on the early beginnings of CRS. Additional information exists in the files of the librarian of Congress. There are finding aids available for both sources. The Library of Congress Records Management Office reported that they do not have a records disposition schedule for CRS. Some years ago, an attempt was made to survey and schedule the holdings of CRS, but this effort was discontinued for lack of interest, at the time, on the part of CRS. Consequently, CRS's holdings have not been surveyed or scheduled. Both archival and records management staff of the Library of Congress would like to see a comprehensive records management and archival program established throughout the Library of Congress.

A record group exists for the Library of Congress at the National Archives. There are no records in this record group, but many years ago, the Library of Congress did submit for approval some requests for disposal of records.

OTA

OTA's reports are published by the Government Printing Office and are frequently reprinted by commercial publishers. Reports and major background documents, including useful contractor reports, are available through the National Technical Information Service. Summaries of most OTA reports are available from OTA, as are the Publications List and the Annual Report.

Organization and arrangement of a record set of governing board minutes is underway with plans to transfer the material to the National Archives. A comprehensive survey and schedule has not been undertaken.

CBO

Formal CBO publications are available from the Government Printing Office and from CBO. They are routinely preserved in congressional committee records. Unpublished studies, memos, reports, and letters are not transferred to the archives although they generally are made available to the public upon request. The records of CBO have not been systematically surveyed and scheduled for eventual transfer to the National Archives.

GPO

Publications of GPO are scheduled and transferred routinely to the National Archives. This includes one copy of every document issued or published by the Public Printer and the head of each executive department, independent agency, and establishment of the government that is listed in the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications*, as prescribed in 44 USC 19, 1711. These materials are arranged according to superintendent of documents classification system, and are preserved either in paper form or in microfiche.

According to Raymond Garvey, director of support services, GPO, a records management "directives" system was established in 1970 to document agency policies and decisions. Prior to

1970, no such system existed. GPO departments today are advised to follow the General Records Schedule to dispose of records covered by the schedule.

The records of executive level staff have not been surveyed and scheduled, although staff are advised to separate personal from official material and leave the official behind when they depart. There are, however, no public printer records at the National Archives.

C. Recommended Actions

1. Congressional Research Service. The records of CRS constitute a significant source of documentation of the legislative process. They are an important resource for members and staff, and as they become older and noncurrent, they constitute a major resource for documenting the history of Congress. A comprehensive records survey and schedule should be undertaken and produced.

a) The CRS schedule should be reviewed and approved by appropriate authorities of Congress to ensure the identification and preservation of records of lasting value to Congress.

b) A CRS archives should be established. The location of this archives should be determined in consultation with appropriate authorities in Congress.

c) A public access policy for CRS archival material should be drawn up and approved in consultation with appropriate authorities in Congress.

2. Vital records program. Establish a vital records program for CRS, OTA, CBO, and GPO.

3. OTA. Complete the transfer of OTA board minutes to the Center for Legislative Archives.

a) Conduct a comprehensive survey of OTA records and schedule all archival records, including all electronic records.

b) Ascertain the whereabouts and encourage the preservation and donation of the personal papers of past directors of OTA, CBO, and GPO.

4. CBO. Perform a systematic survey of all CBO records, including electronic records, and prepare a comprehensive records disposition schedule.

5. Record set. Ensure that a record set of all OTA and CBO publications is preserved in the archives.

6. GPO. Survey and schedule the permanent records, including those of executive level staff and the electronic records of GPO.

Evaluate retention of GPO-published congressional documents at the Center for Legislative Archives and determine what additional materials, beside those already being retained, should become part of a permanent collection at the Center. An evaluation of formats (text, electronic) for retention should also be conducted.

Chapter VII: The Research Use of Congressional Collections

Over the past thirty years, the volume of non-printed records produced by Congress and its members has grown at an explosive rate. By the early 1990s few archival repositories found themselves financially able to accept these potentially massive and complex resources without a careful assessment of the way they are to be appraised and used. This chapter seeks to promote that assessment.

The purpose of this report is to identify the sources of congressional documentation for archival repositories that wish to specialize in documenting the legislative branch. In addition, the authors wished to discuss the relevance of members' papers and committee records and to identify the elements that are most useful to researchers. Congressional archivists can use this information to evaluate their own retention criteria and to develop their own institutions' documentation goals.

After considering several methods, it was decided that a survey of congressional researchers who used post-World War II collections would be the most direct way to gain insight into what users of congressional collections found to be valuable. This chapter summarizes the results of a survey, reproduced in Appendix D, that was conducted during 1991 at nineteen archival repositories. Some of these were small, holding one major collection; others were large and possessed diverse congressional collections.

Institutions participating in the survey were: Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont; Boise State University Special Collections; Carl Albert Congressional Center; Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives; Clemson University Special Collections; the Dirksen Congressional Center; Joyner Library, East Carolina University; the Library of Congress Manuscript

Division; Joseph W. Martin Center, Stonehill College; Missouri Southern State College; Minnesota Historical Society; Mudd Library, Princeton University; Richard Russell Library, University of Georgia; South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; University of Delaware Special Collections; University of Montana Special Collections; University of Washington Libraries, Seattle; and Washington State University Special Collections.

Survey Findings

While the survey only illuminates a small portion of the total universe of research in congressional archival collections, it does provide the first focused look at who uses such collections, why they use them, which series are most and least valuable, and where there is room for improvement. The vast majority of survey respondents were academic, either faculty or students, a high percentage, even when compared to the results of a similar study conducted at presidential libraries. While this heavy academic usage is a positive indicator, archivists might wish to consider expanding and diversifying the range of use somewhat, if only to justify more strongly the expense and effort required to maintain these large collections. Developing programs for high school students and their teachers, as several repositories have done, would broaden the "usefulness" of these collections and help to make congressional history more accessible.

Because of the academic nature of much research being conducted, it is not surprising that the traditional areas of political biography, foreign relations, and a wide variety of public policy topics are heavily represented. Although fewer political scientists than historians used the

sources, those political scientists who participated in the survey were very well satisfied with the information they found. In fact, one respondent who has used numerous collections stated that archival sources have proven to be the most important element of her research.

The respondents generally agreed on the high research value inherent in congressional collections. In descending order the most useful documentation resided in personal/political records, members' legislative records, media/press files, committee legislative records, constituent services/administrative records, committee oversight/investigative records, office management records, and committee treaty files and official communications to Congress. Certain access restrictions probably account for the weaker evaluation of committee investigative, treaty, and nominations records, although in the case of treaty material, the weakness may reside in the lack of depth of some of the files themselves.

When asked to estimate the research value of specific series, respondents identified as valuable a great variety of series types. One way to evaluate their replies is to see which series more than thirty percent—roughly one-third—of all survey participants identified as "somewhat useful" or higher. Using this criterion, the following series are identified: biographical files, campaign records, caucus/political records, members' correspondence, scrapbooks, legislative "bill" files, *Congressional Record* inserts, the legislative assistants' (LA) files, VIP correspondence, constituent issue mail and indexes (opinion mail), newsletters, newspaper clippings, photographs, press releases, specialized mailings, and speeches. Some of this material is unique, but some is published and widely available through library sources. One must assume that researchers who find these services valuable like the convenience of having all *Congressional Record* statements pulled together in one place and of having clippings gathered into some rational scheme.

The series chosen as "most valuable" are not surprising, given the in-depth nature of most congressional archival research and the emphasis on publishing. One possible exception is the constituent issue mail, which many archivists have felt is not useful because it is encumbered with repetitive information and because its excessive volume impedes research. Also since it tends to be answered by use of form letter language, such correspondence

does little to reveal the views of the member or the member's staff. Its main value, as expressed by researchers, resides in providing historians with direct evidence of constituents' views and conditions. In addition, in offices that have more time to devote to "answering the mail," the replies evidently are more descriptive of the legislator's intent and position.

Another surprise is what is left off of the list of "most valued series." Many archivists have assumed that information about state projects is valuable for local and state history purposes, but the respondents to this survey did not indicate an interest in state projects, despite the fact that a good number of the research topics were geographically (state, region) focused. Only 9 percent of all respondents felt that these files were "somewhat useful" or higher. Closer scrutiny of these files on a collection-by-collection basis may reveal that their contents tend to be routine and that the substantive information regarding projects resides in other files series, such as VIP correspondence or certain staff files.

Only five series—desk calendars, constituent casework, grants/projects, master library of form responses, and office policy memos—were used by fewer than ten percent of the researchers. The numbers identifying some series as "useless" are so small as not to be meaningful. For example, one individual called office policy memos "useless," but three said that they were "useful," and three evaluated them as "vital" to their research.

Researchers commenting on ways to improve access to congressional collections generally expressed appreciation for well-processed collections but recognized that too many collections have not been thoroughly processed. In some cases, access was restricted because a repository lacked the resources necessary to do the screening and processing. In other cases, finding aids, while generally helpful, could have provided more detailed information in the form of cross-indexing, more precise dating of files, and more standardization among finding aids. Researchers believe access could be improved by electronic means, which could be especially helpful for congressional research due to the scattered nature of the sources. Also recommended were such tried-and-true methods as microfilming significant series, which could then be borrowed through inter-library loan. Finally, they pointed out that congressional collections do require substantial resources

to achieve the level of description and preservation that they deserve. While some archival repositories have been able to acquire the means necessary to do a top-notch job, others have not. The national picture in this regard is very uneven.

This survey was a first step. It provides congressional archivists with the first survey-based description of which record series are most useful for the types of research described. It establishes a basis for comparison. Archivists can choose to retain, sample, or dispose of parts of collections within a framework provided by the survey respondents. The survey does not address the considerable and significant degree to which Congress itself uses congressional collections, nor does it answer questions about the relatively low volume of use of congressional collections pointed out by some archivists who administered the survey. Perhaps improvements in finding aids and establishing a microfilm (or other type of technology based) duplication program for valuable series will increase use. Certainly, those who have consulted congressional materials feel that their value warrants consideration of such measures.

The problem of insufficient resources is not easily solved, although more and more members are assuming the responsibility for providing some professional processing while the collection is still in Washington, DC. Congressional archivists can help by continuing to encourage members of Congress to do their best in this regard.

Survey Methodology

The survey is the first inter-institutional look at research use of congressional collections. To our knowledge, it is also the first to focus on use of specific series of congressional records, rather than on general use of collections. Its primary goal is to discover the materials used by "in-depth" researchers, those who visited and performed research in the collections. In terms of the documentation project, it is important to evaluate the types of records sought by researchers because the notion of scholarly value most frequently motivates a repository to acquire and maintain a congressional collection.¹

During the year, participating institutions asked researchers to answer the questionnaires. Archivists were requested to assist in filling out the forms to ensure accuracy. Seventy-five researchers completed forms that were analyzed for this report. The results should not be considered

a "scientific statistical sample." Rather, they present a detailed look at the types of documents examined by seventy-five researchers who visited and conducted research in congressional collections and the types of records they found to be most helpful. The repositories were selected, or volunteered to participate, because they were interested in congressional collections and wanted to gain insights from the survey.

The survey aims to enlighten in five main areas:

1. Who does research in congressional collections? Who are the in-depth users?
2. Why do they use congressional collections, and what range of research topics is supported by congressional collections?
3. What types of materials in the collections do researchers use, and how "useful" are they?
4. How important are congressional archival sources relative to other sources of information about Congress?
5. What do researchers have to say about the overall value of archival sources and what suggestions do they have for improving them?

Survey Data and Tables

1. Who Uses Congressional Collections?

The answer is derived from three questions on the survey, each used as a cross-check with the other two. Researchers were asked to describe the purpose of their visit, the end product of their research, and their occupation. The answers were organized according to Paul Conway's analytical scheme of researcher motivation and need.² Researcher need is defined in terms of whether the information sought was narrow and mainly factual, or broadly based. Within this framework, researchers are classified as academic, professional, personal, or avocational.

<i>Researcher Motivation</i>	Working for oneself	Working for or as part of a group
<i>Needs:</i>		
Narrow (factual)	Personal (genealogists, etc.)	Professional (lawyers, paid researchers)
Broad (topics, trends)	Avocational (amateur historians and writers)	Academic (faculty, students)

Table 1 shows that 81 percent of the congressional researchers were academic, almost evenly split between professors and students, both graduates and undergraduates; 12 percent were professional, either lawyers or campaign workers; 7 percent were avocational, writers or researchers doing research for personal reasons and not because they were being paid.

Twenty-six of the faculty researchers, by far the largest number, were in history. Three were political scientists and one was a communications professor.

Of the thirty-one graduate students, one was in political science, one in law and diplomacy, and the remaining in history programs. Use by historians clearly dominates.

Table 1. Types of Researchers Using Congressional Collections

	Number	Percent
Academic	61	81
a. Faculty	30	41
b. Students	31	40
Professional/ Occupational	9	12
Personal	0	
Avocational	5	7

As Table 2 shows, congressional collections in all surveyed repositories have a higher relative usage rate by academics than do general collections at the National Archives.³ Research in congressional sources more nearly approximates that in presidential libraries as documented by a survey conducted in 1984.⁴ The presidential library survey did not separate data regarding personal and avocational research but lumped together genealogists, amateur historians, and "others with little interest in publishing the results of their work or using the information professionally."⁵

Table 2. Researchers Using Collections at the National Archives and at the Presidential Libraries

	National Archives	Presidential Libraries
Academic	20%	75%
Professional/ Occupational	20%	18%
Personal (genealogists)	46%	5%
Avocational	8%	combined with personal

The relatively high academic use of congressional collections even surpasses the proportion of academics at presidential libraries. The congressional topics studied were concentrated chiefly in the traditional areas of political and public policy matters. A future study might try to determine why academics represent such a high proportion of those using congressional collections, and congressional archivists may want to evaluate the degree of diversity among those using their particular collections, in order to determine whether the range could be expanded.

Several congressional archives currently are experimenting with facilitating use of their collections. The Dirksen Congressional Center offers stipends to support research in its collections. The Carl Albert Center has developed a travelling exhibit/video program aimed at illuminating the legislative process for secondary schools. The Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives is developing congressionally focused teaching packets that incorporate records from its collections. The University of Vermont Special Collections has created several course offerings that focus on Vermont and congressional history through use of its congressional holdings. The Richard Russell Library has developed topics with material pulled from a number of their collections for use in course papers by undergraduate history methodology classes.

2. What Are Congressional Collections Used For?

Analysis of the survey question, "Please describe the end product of your research. What are you going to do with the information?" revealed eight categories of use. The table below indicates a high percentage of scholarly use, with 85 percent devoted to intended publication. Given the difficulties of conducting research in widely scattered congressional collections, it is perhaps understandable that those involved in long-term, substantive projects constitute the most frequent users. Because researchers of this type are in the majority, it also is understandable that many archivists believe that congressional collections are not used "enough."

Table 3. Reasons for Congressional Collections Use

<i>Project</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Book	26	35
Dissertation	20	27
MA Thesis/Seminar Paper	8	11
Undergraduate Paper	6	8
Article	9	12
Public Relations (exhibit)	1	1
Campaign Preparations	3	4
Law Case	2	2

Information regarding the nature of research being conducted was derived from a survey question that asked each individual to briefly describe the topic of his or her research.

Thirty-nine (52 percent) of the respondents worked on topics focusing on specific individuals, either biographies or an individual's role in a particular historical event. Fourteen (19 percent) were researching matters relating to a particular organization. Twenty-eight (37 percent) had topics that were geographically focused.

Table 4 demonstrates that the range of research topics runs from agriculture policy to Watergate. The most frequent use was for biographies (28 percent), followed by foreign relations topics (16 percent), politics/elections (8 percent), energy development (6 percent), civil rights (6 percent),

congressional-executive relations (4 percent), and the Vietnam War (4 percent). A variety of other public policy topics were each less than 4 percent.

Table 4. Congressional Collections Research Topics

<i>Topics Researched</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Agriculture	3	3
Biography	26	28
Civil Rights	5	6
Congressional/Executive Relations	4	4
Congressional Leadership	1	1
Congressional Parties	1	1
Congressional Reorganization	1	1
Congressional Constituent Services	1	1
Congressional Investigations	1	1
Consumer Movement	1	1
Courts	1	1
Defense Policy	3	3
Energy Development	5	6
Foreign Relations	15	16
Holocaust	1	1
Housing Legislation	1	1
Indians	1	1
Immigration Legislation	1	1
Legal Case	2	2
Labor Legislation	2	2
Land Use Policy	3	3
New Deal	2	2
Politics/Elections	7	8
Transportation	2	2
Vietnam War	4	4
Watergate	1	1

3. What Do Congressional Researchers Use and How "Useful" Is It?

A. Documentation Value by Function

Researchers responded to the question, "Which congressional papers did you consult and how useful were they?" by indicating all of the individual series that they consulted. They also rated each series as to whether it was "useless," "somewhat useful," "useful," or "vital." The series of records listed on the survey questionnaire were grouped according to office function. The results were tabulated first according to function, and then specifically for each series documenting that function.

Ten functional groupings were surveyed: personal/political, members' legislative, constituent services/administrative, media/press, members' office management, committee legislative, oversight/investigative, nominations, treaty review, and official communication to the Congress. The first five types of records, accounting for 96 percent, are found in members' papers; the second five are congressional committee records residing at the Center for Legislative Archives.

Table 5. Frequency of Use

Personal/Political Records	26%
Members' Legislative Records	24%
Constituent Services/Administrative	15%
Media/Press	23%
Office Management	8%
Committee Legislative	3%
Nominations	0
Oversight/Investigative	1%
Treaty Records and Official Communications	under 1%

A total of 216 record series were consulted by individuals participating in this survey. In members' collections, the most frequently used materials were personal/political, legislative, and media/press. This result is not surprising given the biographical and public policy focus of research conducted by the survey group. What is

surprising is the amount of use (15 percent) of constituent services/administrative records, mainly constituent correspondence. Table 6 further indicates that, of a total of 66 researchers, 32 (48 percent) used constituent services/administrative records. Of that number, 30 (45 percent) found the source to be somewhat useful or higher. While a general consensus exists that constituent casework materials have relatively little research value, the retention of constituent mail is more controversial. Many archivists believe issue correspondence, too, has little historical research value, but a surprising number of researchers indicated otherwise. Those stating interest in this material cited as most important the value of first-hand accounts and an in-depth look at the way an office responded. Legislative and oversight/investigative material were the most-used committee records, but the numbers are too small to be significant.

The surprisingly high relative use of constituent correspondence does little to solve appraisal problems for archivists who are inclined to dispose of or sample this type of material. Despite the volume of correspondence, researchers evidently find in it information of value. Prior to deciding whether to dispose of or sample constituent mail, it would be prudent to review a given collection carefully to determine how much of the mail has been individually responded to by the office, how much represents originally composed correspondence (as opposed to form letters and mass mailings), and what proportion of the office's responses is substantive (as opposed to "thank you for your opinion, it will be carefully considered.") A final decision will probably need to be reached on a case-by-case basis, as the quality of constituent mail will vary from collection to collection depending on how filing was actually done, whether the more substantive correspondence was separated from the routine repetitive communications, the date range of the collection, and the size of the state constituency. Members representing states or districts with smaller populations may be able to devote greater staff resources to responding to constituent mail.

Table 6. Research Value of Records by Functional Types

Total number of researchers using members' papers = 66; using committee records = 9.

Total number of series of members' papers consulted = 206; of committee records = 10.

(Percents in parentheses represent frequency of use: the total number in each category divided by the total number of series consulted in one of two categories, members' papers and committee records.)

Document Types Number of Times Used	Usefulness Scale			
	Useless	Somewhat Useful	Useful	Vital
1. Personal/Political Papers	1 (.005%)	11 (5.34%)	36 (17.48%)	8 (3.88%)
	Total use: 56 researchers or 85 percent. Percent, who used this type of records, who checked "somewhat useful" or higher: 83 %. "Vital": 12 percent.			
2. Legislative Files	0	13 (6.31%)	26 (12.62%)	10 (4.85%)
	Total use: 49 researchers or 74 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 74 %. "Vital": 15 percent.			
3. Constituent Services/Administrative	2 (.01%)	8 (3.88%)	14 (6.79%)	8 (3.88%)
	Total use: 32 researchers or 48 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 45 %. "Vital": 12 percent.			
4. Press Files	3 (.02%)	9 (4.36%)	25 (12.14%)	14 (6.79%)
	Total use: 51 researchers or 77 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 72 %. "Vital": 21 percent.			
5. Office Management	3 (.02%)	1 (.005%)	10 (4.85%)	4 (.02%)
	Total use: 18 researchers or 27 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 23 %. "Vital": 6 percent.			
6. Committee Legislative Files	0	0	1 (10%)	4 (40%)
	Total use: 5 researchers or 56 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 56 %. "Vital": 44 percent.			
7. Oversight//Investigative Files	0	0	2 (20%)	1 (10%)
	Total use: 3 or 33 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 33 %. "Vital": 11 percent.			
8. Nomination Files	0	0	0	0
	Total use: 0			
9. Treaty Files	0	0	1 (10%)	0
	Total use: 1 researcher or 11 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 11 %.			
10. Official Communications	0	1 (10%)	0	0
	Total use: 1 researcher or 11 percent. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 11 %.			

B. Documentation Value by Type of Series

Tables 5 and 6 present information on the frequency of use and the research value of various types of congressional materials. The most frequently consulted materials were records documenting the personal/political activities of members. Next came records of media relations and legislative activities. The survey revealed that the six most frequently used types of records were: newspaper clippings (68 percent), member's personal correspondence (67 percent), speeches (59

percent), campaign material (53 percent), VIP correspondence (53 percent), and press releases (59 percent). Among the least frequently used series were: appointment books (6 percent), desk calendars (6 percent), constituent casework (8 percent), grants/state projects (9 percent), master library of form replies (9 percent), and office policy memos (9 percent). A number of other series were frequently consulted with positive results. Relative "usefulness" of material consulted is depicted in Table 7. Appraisal archivists in need of reducing the size of collections or of improving the type of information they decide to collect will find it helpful to look more closely at the following table.

Table 7. Evaluation of Record Series

(Percents in parentheses are percents of the total number of 66 researchers who were surveyed.)

Document Type/ Number of Times Used	Usefulness Scale			
	Useless	Somewhat Useful	Useful	Vital
I. Personal/Political Files				
1. Appointment Books (% of all searchers)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	0
Total who used this source: 6.				
Percent, who used this series, who checked "somewhat useful" or higher: 66%.(6%)				
2. Accepted Invitations	4 (6%)	3 (4%)	5 (8%)	0
Total: 12.				
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 66% (12%).				
3. Biographical Files	0	11 (17%)	12 (18%)	4 (6%)
Total: 27.				
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (41%).				
4. Campaign Files	0	8 (12%)	15 (23%)	12 (18%)
Total: 35.				
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (53%).				
5. Caucus/Political Files	0	5 (8%)	15 (23%)	9 (14%)
Total: 29.				
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (44%).				
6. Daily Schedules	2 (3%)	8 (12%)	5 (8%)	1 (2%)
Total: 16.				
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 88% (21%).				
7. Desk Calendars	1 (2%)	3 (4%)	1 (2%)	0
Total: 5.				
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 80% (6%).				

<i>Document Types/ Number of Times Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
8. Diaries	0	2 (3%)	8 (12%)	5 (8%)
Total: 15. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (23%).				
9. Financial Disclosure Reports	3 (4%)	3 (4%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)
Total: 13. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 77% (15%).				
10. Memos of Telephone Conversations	1 (2%)	5 (3%)	3 (4%)	4 (6%)
Total: 13. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 92% (18%).				
11. Party Leadership Files	0	6 (9%)	6 (9%)	6 (9%)
Total: 18. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (27%).				
12. Personal Correspondence	3 (4%)	11 (17%)	13 (20%)	20 (30%)
Total: 47. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 94% (67%).				
13. Scrapbooks	3 (4%)	7 (11%)	8 (12%)	7 (11%)
Total: 25. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 88% (33%).				
14. VIP Appointments/Judgeships	2 (3%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	0
Total: 9. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 78% (11%).				
II. Legislative Files:				
15. "Bill Files"	1 (2%)	7 (11%)	13 (20%)	4 (6%)
Total: 25. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 96% (36%).				
16. Briefing Books	0	4 (6%)	7 (11%)	5 (8%)
Total: 16. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (24%).				
17. Committee Files	0	4 (6%)	5 (8%)	7 (11%)
Total: 16. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (24%).				
18. Congressional Record Inserts	3 (4%)	5 (8%)	13 (20%)	5 (8%)
Total: 26. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 88% (35%).				
19. Legislative Assistant's Files (highlighting specific issue areas)	0	6 (9%)	7 (11%)	6 (9%)
Total: 19. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (29%).				
20. Staff Project Files	0	5 (8%)	8 (12%)	3 (4%)
Total: 16. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (24%).				

<i>Document Types/ Number of Times Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
21. VIP Correspondence (with federal, state, local officials; members of Congress) Total: 35. "Somewhat useful or higher: 100% (53%).	0	7 (11%)	13 (20%)	15 (23%)
22. Voting and Attendance Records Total: 16. "Somewhat useful or higher: 94% (24%).	1 (2%)	4 (6%)	5 (8%)	6 (9%)
III. Constituent Services/Administrative Files:				
23. Administrative Assistant's Files (office administration) Total: 9. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 89% (12%).	1 (2%)	3 (4%)	2 (3%)	3 (4%)
24. Casework Total: 5. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (8%).	0	3 (4%)	2 (3%)	0
25. Grants/Projects in district or state Total: 8. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 75% (9%).	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	3 (4%)	1 (2%)
26. Issue Mail and Indexes (opinion mail) Total: 26. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (39%).	0	6 (9%)	10 (15%)	10 (15%)
27. Master Library of form replies Total: 6. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (9%).	0	3 (4%)	2 (3%)	1 (2%)
IV. Press Files:				
28. Newsletters Total: 30. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 97% (44%).	1 (2%)	10 (15%)	10 (15%)	9 (14%)
29. Newspaper Clippings Total: 45. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (68%).	0	8 (12%)	16 (24%)	21 (32%)
30. Opinion Editorials, Columns Total: 37. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 97% (37%).	1 (2%)	12 (18%)	13 (20%)	11 (17%)
31. Photographs Total: 24. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 92% (33%).	2 (3%)	13 (20%)	5 (8%)	4 (6%)
32. Press Releases Total: 35. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 100% (53%).	0	10 (15%)	17 (26%)	8 (12%)

<i>Document Types/ Number of Times Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
33. Specialized Mailings	2 (3%)	10 (15%)	8 (12%)	3 (4%)
Total: 23. "Somewhat useful or higher: 91% (32%).				
34. Speeches	0	6 (9%)	14 (21%)	19 (29%)
Total: 39. "Somewhat useful or higher: 100% (59%).				
35. TV and Radio Files	0	4 (6%)	12 (18%)	2 (3%)
Total: 18. "Somewhat useful or higher: 100% (27%).				
V. Office Management:				
36. List of Current and Former Staff	1 (2%)	3 (4%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)
Total: 11. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 91% (15%).				
37. Office Policy Memos	1 (2%)	0	3 (4%)	3 (4%)
Total: 7. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 86% (9%).				
38. Travel	2 (3%)	7 (11%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)
Total: 16. "Somewhat useful" or higher: 88% (21%).				

4. How Valuable Are Congressional Archival Sources Compared to Other Sources of Information About Congress?

Respondents were asked to indicate on a usefulness scale the overall value of archival sources compared to eight other major sources of information about Congress. The results are summarized in Table 8. Not surprisingly, given the audience surveyed, archival sources received the highest score, with 77 percent of the researchers stating that these sources are "somewhat useful" or higher. Fifty-seven percent felt that the archival sources were "vital" to their projects. The next most valuable source was magazines and newspapers, followed by published scholarly secondary sources. Congressional publications and the

Congressional Record also ranked high but clearly did not eclipse the nonpublished, archival sources. Among the least frequently used sources, although not necessarily of low research value, were commercial information data bases and videos of floor proceedings.

Researchers also offered comments in response to a general question about the value of archival records. Most who commented reaffirmed the high score given to archival sources and stated that they were "critical to their work." Typical comments were that archives provide the substantive details lacking in media coverage, that they contain important published material not readily available elsewhere, and that archival sources are essential to verify the accuracy of published accounts and interviews where details fade along with an individual's memory.

Table 8. Value of Information Sources on Congress

Total number of researchers: 75 (66 in members' papers and 9 in committee records)

Percents indicate number who checked each category compared to the total number of researchers.

Document Types/ Number of Times Used	Usefulness Scale			
	Useless	Somewhat Useful	Useful	Vital
Archival Sources	0	5 (7%)	10 (13%)	43 (57%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 77% of the total of 75				
Books by principals	1 (1%)	11 (15%)	17 (23%)	15 (20%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 57%				
Commercial information services and data bases	2 (3%)	9 (12%)	8 (11%)	4 (5%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 28%				
Congressional publications (hearings, reports)	1 (1%)	8 (11%)	15 (20%)	21 (28%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 59%				
<i>Congressional Record</i>	2 (3%)	11 (15%)	21 (28%)	11 (15%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 57%				
Interviews with principals	2 (3%)	3 (4%)	13 (17%)	20 (27%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 48%				
Magazines and newspapers	0	7 (9%)	24 (32%)	22 (29%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 71%				
Published scholarly secondary	0	9 (12%)	26 (35%)	15 (20%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 67%				
Video of floor proceedings	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	6 (8%)	1 (1%)
"Somewhat useful" or higher: 11%				
Other:				
Published oral history interviews				1 (1%)
Congressional Historical Offices				1 (1%)

5. How Can the Content of or the Finding Aids to Congressional Collections be Improved?

Respondents were asked to provide suggestions for improving the content, arrangement, and access to congressional collections. There were no recommendations for content improvement. Instead, all comments addressed improving access and arrangement, an indication that many collections in repositories seem to remain unarranged.⁶ A number of researchers pointed out that better subject access is most desirable. Suggestions included providing more refined cross-indexing, more detailed cataloging of box contents, better dating of contents, and standardization of finding aids.

On the status of finding aids, one researcher who has used collections at more than ten repositories, including the Library of Congress Manuscript Division and the Center for Legislative Archives, commented, "Unfortunately, the quality and format of the finding aids vary widely, so that a scholar who inquires about a particular collection can have little real sense of whether or

not any relevant material is to be found there." She pointed out that sometimes the finding aids are too comprehensive and sometimes completely useless. They too infrequently include information about series volume, an important consideration to someone who must decide whether to make a trip or order photocopies.

Several respondents asked for computerized subject access so that long-distance searches could be made. Others felt that microfilming certain portions of collections and making them available through interlibrary loan would improve access. To overcome the difficulties of using materials that are geographically dispersed, financial support in the form of research grants would be welcome. Another opinion expressed was that congressional archives could use more resources, to make possible more thorough processing and preparation of more detailed finding aids. One individual commented that the problem appears to be inadequate resources rather than a lack of archival knowledge and technique. As another individual stated, "there are too many unprocessed collections."

Appendix A

Annotated Bibliography of Finding Aids for the Official Records of Congress

Compiled by Richard Hunt

Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives

This bibliography describes some of the major finding aids that reference archivists at the Center for Legislative Archives consult in order to assist researchers who are working in the records at the Center. Also included is a brief list of general reference sources on Congress and the legislative process that the staff use to locate supplemental information on a subject or a bill.

The Center for Legislative Archives maintains physical custody of the official records of Congress, primarily in the form of committee records, covering the period from 1789 to the 1980s. The Center's staff answers requests for records and questions regarding these records from congressional committees and members, congressional scholars, and the general public.

The finding aids listed below are used by the Center's staff to identify the most likely sources of information in congressional records on a wide variety of subjects and topics. The list begins with the general finding aids that are used most frequently and proceeds to more detailed and less frequently used finding aids. For each finding aid, the following information is provided: title, author, the span of congresses and years covered, a brief description, how the information is arranged, the access points to information, estimated frequency of the aid's use by the staff, and additional information of note.

Not included in this bibliography are many of the unpublished finding aids prepared by the Center's staff for series-level and folder-level access to the records in the Center's holdings. These additional finding aids, however, can be made available to researchers who visit the Center for Legislative Archives. Also not in this list are the reference tools used to search for government publications, such as the *Documents Catalog* and the *Monthly Catalog*. Reference staff at research libraries and other repositories, or the reference staff at the Center, should be consulted about finding aids and sources relevant to searches in government publications.

FINDING AIDS

1. *Guide to the Records of the United States House of Representatives at the National Archives*, Charles E. Schamel, Mary Rephlo, Rodney Ross, David Kepley, Robert W. Coren, and James Gregory Bradsher, and *Guide to the Records of the United States Senate at the National Archives*, Robert W. Coren, Mary Rephlo, David Kepley, and Charles South (1st–100th Congress) (1789–1988)

These two volumes written by the Center's staff describe in broad terms the House and Senate records held by the Center for Legislative Archives. The chapters are arranged by committee and describe series of records for the period 1789 to 1968. Closing chapters in each volume briefly describe House and Senate records respectively for the period 1969 to 1988. An introductory chapter describing research methods in the records of Congress begins each volume.

These guides provide a variety of access points to the records of Congress, including listings by name of committee, by jurisdiction of committee, by record type, by chronological period, by subject, by personal and corporate name, and by geographic place name.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: The *Guides* represent the best starting point for searches in the official records of Congress housed at the Center for Legislative Archives.

2. A) *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–1946* No. 113, compiled by Buford Rowland, Handy B. Fant, and Harold E. Hufford (1st–79th Congress) (1789–1946)

This volume, published in 1959, lists and describes series of House records held by the Center for Legislative Archives. It is arranged by Congress, then by major function (records of legislative proceedings, records of impeachment proceedings, and records of the Office of the Clerk), then by record type, and finally by committee (where applicable).

Researchers can gain access to congressional records by Congress, by legislative function, by type of record or series, by committee, by subject, by personal and corporate name, and by geographic place name. Frequency of Use: High

Note: This volume comprehensively lists the series of House records for this period. It also includes an excellent subject index to the committee papers and petitions series.

B) "Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the House of Representatives, 80th–87th Congress" (1947–1962) (unpublished) compiled by Jose D. Lizardo

This unpublished work supplements the published preliminary inventory and can be found only at the Center. It lists and describes series of House records held by the Center for Legislative Archives for this period. It is arranged in the same form as the published preliminary inventory: by Congress, thereunder by legislative function, thereunder by record type, and thereunder by committee (where applicable).

Researchers can gain access to the records by congress, by function, by type of record or series, and by committee.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: This preliminary inventory comprehensively lists series of House records for this period. It contains no index and provides only limited subject access to the following series: committee papers, petitions, and related documents referred to committee.

3. A) *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States Senate*, No. 23, compiled by Harold E. Hufford and Watson G. Caudill (1st–79th Congress) (1789–1946)

This volume lists and briefly describes the series of Senate records in existence at the time the volume was completed. The information is arranged by Congress, thereunder by legislative function (records of legislative proceedings, records of executive proceedings, records of impeachment proceedings, and records of the Office of the Secretary), thereunder by record type, and thereunder by committee (where applicable).

Researchers can gain access to information by Congress, by legislative function, by record type, and by committee.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: Unlike the *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the House of Representatives*, this inventory of Senate records does not comprehensively list all series; annotated versions held by the Center for Legislative Archives add the records not covered in the published inventory. An index provides limited subject access only. The index should be used with caution, especially for petitions and memorials. Often citations no longer conform to the present arrangement of records.

B) "Arrangement of Senate Records, 80th–91st Congress" (1947–1971) (unpublished) compiled by Charles E. Schamel

This unpublished work lists series of Senate records held by the Center for Legislative Archives for this period. The information is arranged by congress, thereunder by committee, and thereunder by record type.

Researchers can gain access to series names by Congress, committee, and record type.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: This work also lists treaties and conventions included in the Foreign Relations series ("treaty files") of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It also lists the series for the Records of Special and Select Committees of the Senate and Records of the Joint Committees of Congress.

4. A) Indexes to the *Congressional Record*, (43d–100th Congress) (1873–1988) (Indexes are not cumulative; individual volumes index each session of Congress.)

The indexes provide access to the *Congressional Record*, which represents the daily, printed account of the proceedings in both the House and Senate and record substantially verbatim the debate, statements, and floor action for each body. Since 1947, the *Congressional Record* also produces the *Daily Digest*, which records floor and committee proceedings each day. The predecessors to the *Congressional Record* are listed below.

The indexes provide access to the *Congressional Record* by bill or resolution name and number, by subject, by personal and corporate name, and by geographic place name. The *Congressional Record* is arranged in chronological order.

Frequency of Use: High by researchers; low by staff.

Note: The *Congressional Record* and its predecessors represent the best sources to begin subject searches.

B) Indexes to the *Annals of Congress*, published in the 1830s by Joseph Gales and William Seaton (1st–18th Congress, 1st session) (1789–1824)

Each volume of the *Annals* includes a separate index.

Researchers can use the indexes to gain access to the *Annals* by subject, by personal name, and by geographic place name. The *Annals* are arranged in chronological order.

C) Indexes to the *Register of Debates*, published by Joseph Gales and William Seaton (18th Congress, 2d session–25th Congress, 1st session) (1824–1837)

Each volume of the *Register* includes a separate index.

Researchers can use the indexes to gain access to the *Registers* by subject. Some volumes also include separate indexes to the names of speakers in debates and indexes to the Appendices (for Presidential messages, Executive Communications, and Laws of the U.S. enacted). The *Registers* are arranged in chronological order.

D) Indexes to the *Congressional Globe*, published by Francis P. Blair and John C. Rives (23rd Congress, 1st session–42d Congress, 3rd session) (1833–1873)

Each volume of the *Globe* includes a separate index.

Researchers can use the indexes to gain access to the *Globes* by personal name and subject. The *Globes* are arranged in chronological order.

E) *Sessional Indexes to the Annals, Register of Debates, and Congressional Globe* (9 volumes), a 1970 reprint edition of sessional indexes published by the United States Historical Documents Institute (1st–42d Congress) (1789–1873)

These volumes, arranged by congress, represent a compilation of indexes only to the *Annals of Congress*, *Register of Debates*, and *Congressional Globes*. They provide a handy source to search for information across congresses.

5. A) *Senate Legislative Journals* (1st–100th Congress) (1789–1988)

The *Journals*, for both the House and Senate, represent the official records of floor proceedings. The Senate produces two journals, the *Senate Legislative Journal* to record legislative proceedings, and the *Senate Executive Journal* to record proceedings on treaties and nominations.

The *Journals* are arranged by Congress, session, and date. Indexes at the back of each *Senate Legislative Journal* provide access to the *Journal* by bill or resolution name and number, by subject, by personal and corporate name, and by geographic place name.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: The reference staff uses the *Journals* to supplement and verify the information provided by researchers. They serve as the basic finding aid to the unpublished legislative case files series, petitions series, and executive communications series.

B) *House Journals* (1st–99th Congress, 1st session) (1789–1985)

The House produces one *Journal*, as opposed to the Senate's two *Journals*.

The *Journals* are arranged by Congress, session, and date. Indexes to the *Journals* provide access by bill or resolution name and number, by subject, by personal and corporate name, and by geographic place name.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: The reference staff uses the *Journals* to supplement and verify the information provided by researchers. They serve as the basic finding aid to the unpublished legislative case files series and petitions series.

6. *Senate Executive Journals* (1st–100th Congress) (1789–1988)

The *Senate Executive Journals* constitute the official record of Senate executive proceedings relating to treaties and nominations.

The *Journals* are arranged by Congress, session, and date. The indexes to the *Journals* provide access by the surnames of individuals whose names were placed in nomination, by geographic place name, and by executive department or agency. (Indexes vary from volume to volume.)

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: The reference staff uses the *Executive Journals* as the primary finding aid to the following series in the Records of Executive proceedings: Nomination Messages and Papers Relating to Nominations.

7. *U.S. Statutes at Large* (Volumes 1100) (1st–99th Congress) (1789–1986)

The *U.S. Statutes at Large* include the public acts of Congress arranged by Congress and in chronological order; there are separate interspersed volumes for private acts also arranged in chronological order.

Each volume, excepting the first, includes a subject index. The volumes for private acts can be accessed by the surname of individuals named in private acts.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: The *Statutes* have also been indexed in the following publications: *A Synoptical Index to the Laws and Treaties of the United States of America from March 4, 1789 to March 3, 1851*, published by Charles C. Little and James Brown; *Index Analysis of the Federal Statutes, 1837–1907*, compiled by George Winfield Scott and Middleton G. Beamon; and *Index to the Federal Statutes, 1874–1931*, compiled by Walter H. McClenon and Wilfred C. Gilbert.

8. *CIS U.S. Serial Set Index 1789–1969*, published by Congressional Information Service, Inc. (1st–90th Congress)

This CIS index provides access to congressional reports and documents (both generated and received by Congress) found in the full-size hardcopy *U.S. Serial Set* collection and the *CIS U.S. Serial Set on Microfiche*.

Access to information is by subject or keyword, by report or document number, and by proper names of persons and organizations for whom private relief was considered (if reports were printed).

Frequency of Use: High

Note: Indexes group a varying number of consecutive congresses together. If only approximate period of time for a search is known (rather than a particular Congress), this index helps the staff identify specific sessions of Congress and serves as the entry point to the House and Senate *Journals*.

9. *CIS U.S. Congressional Committee Hearings Index 1833–1969*, published by Congressional Information Service, Inc. (23rd–90th Congress)

This index represents the most complete index to the published committee hearings of Congress.

The index provides access to the hearings by subject, by names of organizations, by names of witnesses and names of individuals who were subjects of testimony, by committee or subcommittee, by bill name or number, by titles of hearings publications, by Superintendent of Documents classification number, and by report or document number.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: These indexes group a varying number of consecutive congresses together. They serve as the finding aid to the *CIS U.S. Congressional Committee Hearings on Microfiche Full Collection*.

10. *CIS U.S. Congressional Committee Prints Index, from the Earliest Publications through 1969*, published by Congressional Information Service, Inc. (1st–90th Congress)

An index to extant committee prints.

Access to the committee prints is by subject, by proper names of individuals and institutions who were either authors or subjects of prints, by titles of publications, by Congress and committee, by bill name and number, and by Superintendent of Documents classification number.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: The majority of committee prints dates from the period 1947–1969. Indexes group a varying number of consecutive congresses together. The index serves as the finding aid to the *CIS U.S. Congressional Committee Prints on Microfiche*.

11. *CIS Index to Unpublished U.S. Senate Committee Hearings 1823–1964*, published by Congressional Information Service, Inc. (18th–88th Congress)

An index to Senate unpublished committee hearing transcripts located in the holdings of the Center for Legislative Archives, congressional committee offices, and other major repositories.

Access to the hearings is by subject, by names of organizations, by names of witnesses and names of people who were subjects of testimony, by titles of hearings, by bill numbers, and by committee and subcommittee.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: Indexes group a varying number of consecutive congresses together. The index serves as the finding aid to the *CIS Unpublished U.S. Senate Committee Hearings on Microfiche Full Collection*.

12. *CIS Indexes and Annual Abstracts*, published by Congressional Information Service, Inc. (1970–present) (91st Congress–present)

These indexes are published monthly with quarterly and annual cumulations. They represent a single index to most of the different forms of congressional publications. Citations in the *Indexes* direct users to the *Annual Abstracts*, which summarize each publication.

The indexes provide access to information by subject; by names of witnesses; by titles of publications; by bill, report, hearing, print, and Superintendent of Documents classification number; and by committee and subcommittee name.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: Reproductions of the publications can be found in the *CIS/Microfiche Library*. Some original documents can also be found in the Serial Set and in Record Group 287, Publications of the United States Government, in the Y4 series, at the Center for Legislative Archives.

13. *Hearings in the Records of the U.S. Senate and Joint Committees of Congress* (Special List No. 32) compiled by Charles E. South and James C. Brown (1863–1945) (38th–78th Congress)

This special list is an enumeration of published and unpublished hearings of the U.S. Congress located in the Records of the United States Senate and the Records of Joint Committees of Congress in the holdings of the Center for Legislative Archives. It also includes many hearings held by committees of the House of Representatives, copies of which were collected by Senate committees concerned with similar subjects.

The hearings are arranged by Congress and thereunder alphabetically by name of committee, grouped in the following order: standing committees of the Senate, select and special committees of the Senate, standing committees of the House, select and special committees of the House, and joint committees of Congress. There is an index to committees also.

Frequency of Use: Low

Note: This finding aid is not restricted to printed material; it lists comprehensively the records held by the Center for Legislative Archives. It has been superseded in part by the CIS indexes to hearings. It provides title of hearing or bill, bill or resolution number, date, indication whether the hearing exists in printed or transcript form, and number of pages.

14. *Printed Hearings of the House of Representatives Found Among Its Committee Records in the National Archives of the U.S., 1824–1958* (Special List No. 35) compiled by Buford Rowland, Jose D. Lizardo, and George P. Perros (18th–85th Congress)

This special list catalogs the printed hearings of the House that have been found among the committee records held by the Center for Legislative Archives.

The hearings are arranged by Congress and thereunder by committee.

Frequency of Use: Low

Note: This finding aid should be used in conjunction with the CIS indexes to hearings. It provides the title of hearings, associated bills and resolutions numbers, dates of hearings, and number of pages.

15. *Checklist of Hearings Before Congressional Committees Through the 67th Congress*, compiled by Harold O. Thomen, Library of Congress (40th–67th Congress) (1867–1923)

This checklist provides a list of printed House hearings found in the printed Government catalogs, the National Union catalog, and catalogs of selected major libraries.

The hearings are arranged alphabetically by committee name and thereunder by Congress.

Frequency of Use: Low

Note: This finding aid should be used in conjunction with the CIS indexes to hearings. It provides the title of the hearing, associated bill numbers, date, number of pages, and a location or source for titles.

16. *Cumulative Index of Congressional Committee Hearings in the United States Senate Library*, indexed and compiled under the direction of the Secretary of the Senate (9 vols.) (late nineteenth century–1980) (96th Congress)

An index to printed committee hearings in the Senate Library's collection. The first volume covers the period prior to 1935. Eight additional volumes index the hearings between 1935 and 1980.

The hearings are arranged alphabetically by subject. There is a separate arrangement by house, thereunder alphabetically by committee name, and thereunder alphabetically by subject. In addition, there are indexes of hearings by bill numbers. These indexes are arranged by house, thereunder by congress, and thereunder numerically by bill number.

Frequency of Use: Low

Note: These indexes should be used in conjunction with the CIS indexes to hearings. The last volume in the series, covering the 96th Congress, provides SUDOC numbers for the printed hearings. This series of indexes has been replaced by the Senate Library's Computerized Catalog.

17.A) *Alphabetical List of Private Claims Brought Before the Senate of the U.S. 1816–1909* (14th–60th Congress) (10 vols.) (Printed in the Serial Set as several Senate Documents; see *Senate Guide*, p. 54, for listing.)

This list serves as a reference tool to access the records of the Committee on Claims and records of other committees that also reported on private claims.

It lists claimants in alphabetical order by the names of persons, ships, businesses, and organizations.

Frequency of Use: High

Note: This list describes the nature or object of each claim; the session and manner in which it was brought before the Senate; the committee to which it was referred; the report number and date (if printed); the bill number; its disposition by the Senate; and, if passed by both houses, the date enacted. For private relief bills, see also the "Finding List" volumes of the *CIS U.S. Congressional Serial Set Index*.

B) *Alphabetical List of Private Claims Which Have Been Presented to the House of Representatives 1789–1891* (1st–51st Congress) (6 vols.) (Printed in the Serial Set as several House Documents; see *House Guide*, p. 77, for listing.)

See paragraph above for general description.

18.A) *Papers of the U.S. Senate Relating to Presidential Nominations 1789–1901* (Special List No. 20) compiled by George P. Perros, James C. Brown, and Jacqueline A. Wood (1st–56th Congress)

This special list captures the names of presidential appointees presented to the Senate for confirmation, for which there are files in the Records of the U.S. Senate held by the Center for Legislative Archives.

The information is arranged by Congress and thereunder alphabetically by surname of appointee. There is an index arranged alphabetically by surname of appointee.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: The list provides the name of the appointee and the associated position to which the appointee was nominated.

B) "Papers of the U.S. Senate Relating to Presidential Nominations, 1901–1946" (unpublished) compiled by James C. Brown (57th–79th Congress)

This unpublished finding aid to papers relating to presidential nominations in the Records of the U.S. Senate held by the Center for Legislative Archives supplements the published version described above.

GENERAL REFERENCE SOURCES

19.A) *Congressional Directory* (published privately until 1847; in 1848 it assumed an official character)

The *Directory* contains biographical information on members of Congress for each session of Congress and additional information on the institution of Congress and its committees. It also contains information on officials in the executive and judicial branches of government.

The *Directory* can be accessed by state, by surname of member of Congress, by committee, and by subject.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: The *Directory* provides a good source for the administrative history of Congress and its committees and the biographical histories of members.

B) *United States Congressional Directories, 1789–1840* edited by Perry M. Goldman and James S. Young (1st Congress–26th Congress, 2d session)

A compilation of 46 *Congressional Directories* for the 1st Congress through the 26th Congress, 2d session (12 Directories are not extant; see note 10 on page 6 in *U.S. Congressional Directories* for a list of the missing Directories).

The *Directories* are arranged by Congress and session. They include names of members of Congress, their addresses, and committees. There is no index.

Frequency of Use: Low

C) *Congressional Staff Directory*, (Staff Directories exist for more recent history of Congress; the Center for Legislative Archives, for example, has selected Staff Directories from the period 1962–1988.)

The *Staff Directories* list committee assignments of members of Congress, committee staff members, and include short biographies of committee staff members.

Information in the *Directories* can be accessed by state, by surname of members of Congress and committee staff, and by committee. Later *Directories* also include keyword indexes.

Frequency of Use: Low

20. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989: Bicentennial Edition* compiled and edited under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing (Continental Congress, 1774–1788; and 1st Congress–100th Congress)

The *Biographical Directory* contains biographical information about the individuals who served in the Continental Congresses and the more than 11,000 members of Congress (1789–1989). Entries for individuals include a brief history of educational training and careers outside Congress, the Congresses to which individuals were elected and dates of service, political party designations, and assignments as standing committee chairmen or to major, formal leadership positions. Citations to biographical dictionaries and scholarly works complete entries. The *Biographical Directory* also includes a list of the officers of the Executive branch, the census apportionment of representatives (1788–1980), and a roster of state congressional delegations and elected officers in the 1st–100th Congresses.

The *Biographical Directory* is divided into two major sections. The first section, the roster of state congressional delegations and elected officers, is arranged by Congress and thereunder alphabetically by state. The second and major part of the *Biographical Directory* contains the biographical entries for the members of Congress, arranged alphabetically by the members' surnames.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

NOTE: The reference staff uses the *Biographical Directory* to gain basic information on specific members of Congress and often refer researchers to it and to the *Guide to Research Collections of Former United*

States Senators 1789–1982 and A Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives 1789–1987.

21.A) *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (annual editions, 1945–1989) (45 vols.) (79th Congress–100th Congress)

The *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* offers a compendium of information on Congress. It represents, in the words of its editors, “a condensation of acts, amendments, committee activities, debate, hearings, investigations, lobbies, party politics, pressures and a record of votes.”

The series is arranged by year and thereunder by subject. Using the table of contents and the indexes for each volume, researchers can find information by subject, by titles of acts, and by personal and corporate name.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: The reference staff considers the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* an invaluable source of information on Congress and the legislative process; it offers especially good coverage of major issues, legislative history of bills, and the background and course of congressional investigations.

B) *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* (1945–present) (79th–102d Congress)

The *Weekly Report* provides in-depth coverage of Congress on a weekly basis. In addition to discussion of topical issues, the *Weekly Report* chronicles major legislative action taken by committees and Congress and updates the status of appropriations and bills.

Each *Weekly Report* provides a subject index and an index to major legislative action. CQ also publishes quarterly and annual indexes to the *Weekly Report*.

Using the table of contents and indexes, researchers can find information by subject, by titles of bills and acts, and by personal and corporate name.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: The *Weekly Report* can be used to supplement the annual editions of the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*.

C) *Congress and the Nation: A Review of Government and Politics*, published by Congressional Quarterly Service (7 vols.) (1945–1988) (79th Congress–100th Congress)

The volumes of the *Congress and Nation* series represent a summary of the coverage of legislation and politics found in the annual CQ *Almanacs*. They describe the historical context and background for major legislation.

The chapters are arranged by broad subject or policy area. Subject indexes provide access to information by subject and personal and corporate name.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: This series offers a good starting point to gain both an overview and detailed information on legislative action in major subject areas.

D) *Guide to Congress* (4th Edition, 1991), published by Congressional Quarterly Service

The *Guide to Congress* explains “in one definitive volume how Congress developed and how it works today.”

An index to the *Guide to Congress* provides access to information by subject and personal and corporate name. The *Guide* also includes a biographical index of members, 1789–1991, a glossary of congressional terms, and a number of appendices.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: The *Guide to Congress* is a good source for the history of Congress and for understanding the procedures and rules governing the conduct of business in both houses.

22. *Shepard's Acts and Cases By Popular Names* (2 vols.) (3d edition, 1986)

Shepard's Acts and Cases By Popular Names represents "a compilation of popular names by which federal and state acts and cases have been referred to or cited." It provides appropriate references to the *U.S. Code* and *U.S. Statutes at Large*.

The information is arranged alphabetically by the popular name of acts or cases.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

23. *Popular Names of U.S. Government Reports* (4th edition, 1984), compiled by Bernard A. Bernier, Jr. and Karen A. Wood

This work links short titles or popular titles of government publications with official titles and corporate authors.

The information is arranged alphabetically by popular name of government publications. Indexes also provide access by subject and corporate author.

Frequency of Use: Moderate

Note: *Popular Names of U.S. Government Reports* provides the following information for publications: official title; corporate author; brief description; date; number of pages; *Monthly Catalog* citation; SUDOC number; and Library of Congress card catalog number. The 3d edition, published in 1976, while superseded in most respects by the 4th edition, includes a section on Watergate-related publications.

Appendix B

Survey of Collections of Political Party Records

By Charles Edward Schamel

Center for Legislative Archives

The information for this report was obtained through a preliminary survey of the locations of collections of political party records. It was conducted in 1985 by staff of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission to determine the feasibility of a full-scale survey and description of political party records in archival holdings. (ed. note: A comprehensive survey has yet to be undertaken. Interested archivists might consider seeking appropriate funding to conduct either individual statewide surveys or a national survey.) The survey findings are presented in four tables which summarize the following information:

- 1) An overview of the political party records held by archival repositories in the U.S.
- 2) A summary of the major collections, i.e., the series of records of the Democratic and Republican parties (1928-88) that are held by presidential libraries.
- 3) An analysis of some of the types of records that can be found in political committee collections.
- 4) A note on microfilm publications of political party records.

I. OVERVIEW

The survey was conducted by searching the indexes and descriptive volumes of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC). First, the indexes were searched for five subject headings: Democratic Party, Republican Party, political party, political organization, and political convention. Then the number of entries for each category was counted, and the last three were combined. The total number of entries indicates the number of collections, but not their size, that touch on the subject.

NUCMC ENTRIES 1959-84

Democratic Party	754
Republican Party	844
Political party, organization, convention	801
Total entries	2,399

After counting the number of entries, a sample of the individual collection entries were copied and reviewed. The sample group included records of political parties; records of organizations within political parties; papers of party leaders serving in elected office; papers of political party officials; papers of individuals who corresponded with political party officials; records of political clubs; papers of minor political parties; records of political caucuses, and more. A large number of collections deal with political party affairs at the state level. There is relatively little in the way of National Committee records before the 1930s, which is probably accounted for by the then ad-hoc nature of the committees, which worked toward an election and afterwards dispersed.

II. SUMMARY OF MAJOR COLLECTIONS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE RECORDS AT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

Most of the DNC and RNC records are currently maintained at the presidential libraries. The practice was started under Franklin Roosevelt and continued informally until 1978, when the Democratic and Republican parties entered into agreements with the National Archives for the preservation of their permanently valuable historical materials. Under the 1978 agreement, the two political parties will retire their records to the National Archives and retain authority over them for a period of ten years. During the ten-year period only persons authorized by the party will be permitted to examine the records, and after that time the records will be open to the public. The records will be housed in the National Archives building or at a presidential library.

The following major subgroups and series of political party records are at the presidential libraries.

Democratic National Committee Records

Records	Dates	Volume	Location
DNC, major collection	1928-48	348 ft.	Roosevelt Library
DNC, Women's Division	1933-44	89 ft.	Roosevelt Library
DNC, President's File	1933-45	20 ft.	Roosevelt Library
DNC, records of DNC	1944-50	10 ft.	Truman Library
DNC, records of DNC meetings	1944-55	3 ft.	Truman Library
DNC, printed library collect.	(?)	105 ft.	Truman Library
DNC, at least 13 series and fragments from 1932-69	1952-63	1,244 ft.	Kennedy Library
DNC, elections	1960-68	257 ft.	Johnson Library
DNC, (see series notes below)	1920-88	874 ft.	Pres. Lib. NA bldg.
		TOTAL 2,950 ft.	

Republican National Committee Records

Records	Dates	Volume	Location
RNC, printed material	1932-63	320 ft.	Eisenhower Library
RNC, chairman L. Hall files	1953-57	111 ft.	Eisenhower Library
RNC, campaign director files	1960-65	19 ft.	Cornell Univ. Lib.
RNC, chairman's records	1960-65	75 ft.	Cornell Univ. Lib.
RNC, finance records	1964	8 ft.	Cornell Univ. Lib.
RNC, public relations records	1913-66	65 ft.	Cornell Univ. Lib.
RNC, (see series notes below)	1890-1988	1,170 ft.	Pres. Lib. NA bldg.
		TOTAL 1,768 ft.	

In addition to the records of the political parties, each of the presidential libraries either already holds or plans to collect, the personal papers of the leaders of the parties during the administration. In some cases, the official records of the party were removed along with the personal papers of party officials or staff and remain a part of those papers. The papers of parties and party leaders that were generated when the party was not in the White House are generally retired to the most appropriate library, for example, the DNC records for the 1980s will probably be retired to the Carter Library or will reside with the records of the next Democratic president.

Related materials of interest include the records of Young & Rubicam, a public relations firm for the 1952 and 1956 campaigns, which are at the Eisenhower Library. There also are 1,115 ft. of material from the Nixon Campaign to Reelect the President (CREEP), 1971–1972, among the personal papers of President Nixon.

The National Archives' Center for Legislative Archives has 133 ft. of political committee records for the years 1912–68.

III. ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS AND SERIES IN NATIONAL PARTY RECORDS

The RNC and DNC records that are currently at the National Archives building are, for the most part, unarranged and undescribed. Listed below is a general survey of the types of records found for each committee. Most of the offices, subjects and series titles listed below were taken from box labels that were unsystematically attached to boxes.

Records of the Democratic National Committee, 1920–1988. 875 ft.

McGovern-Fraser Commission	Women's Division
Compliance Review Commission	Youth Subcommittee
Office of the Secretary	Minorities Division
Office of the Chairman	Research Library
Office of the Vice Chairman	Issue Papers
Press office	Personalities File
Executive Committee Meetings	Credentials Committee
Democratic Platform Committee	The Johnson Era, 1963–64
Patricia R. Harris Files	Nationalities Division
Young Democrats 1963–73	Various audio-visual materials
National Governor's Conference	

Records of the Republican National Committee, 1890–1988. 1,170 ft.

Convention Programs	News Clippings
Convention Proceedings	Subject Files
Transcript of Proceedings	State Files
Committee on Credentials	Publications
Research Files: Divisions & Committees	Rules Reform
Advisory Committees and Councils	Jo Good's Files
Platform Committee	Election Statistics
Convention office	Ray E. Still Papers
Nixon Administration	1969 Inaugural
Large audio-visual collection	

IV. POLITICAL PARTY RECORDS ON MICROFILM.

University Publications of America, Inc., of Frederick, Maryland, has microfilmed a large portion of the "Papers of the Republican Party, 1911-80" that are currently housed in the National Archives Building.

Appendix C

House of Representatives Member Organizations Activities and Publications

The chart provides data for a sampling of CMOs. It focuses on CMOs affiliated directly or indirectly with party leadership and those thought to be among the more active organizations. All numbers are estimates.

	Publications		Seminars/Conferences**	Other Services**
	Docs	Pages		
DEMOCRATS				
Democratic Study Group (LSO)	128	1,000		
Democratic Caucus	25	400		
TOTALS	153	1,400		
REPUBLICANS				
Republican Conference	179	1500	25	
Policy Committee	17	75		
Research Committee	45	125		
Wednesday Group (LSO)	5	300	03	
Republican Study Committee (LSO)	60	650		90
TOTALS	306	2650		
OTHER				
Clearinghouse/Future	20	200	04	25
Energy/Environment	65	800	06	
Northeast/Midwest	10	1000	05	20
Women's Caucus	15	60	07	15
TOTALS	110	2,060		
ALL CATEGORIES:				
TOTALS (Documents)	569			
TOTALS (Pages)		6,110		
TOTALS (Other Services)			50	150

**Services annually for individual members, such as briefings, talking points, and position papers, are included in this category. Numbers are based on activities reported to the Office of Records and Registration (House Office of the Clerk) and on descriptions provided by staff directors. They therefore probably do not include informal contacts between members of Congress and CMO staff members.



Appendix D

Members' Papers Researcher Questionnaire

Part I. Description of Your Project

1. What collection(s) have you been using?

2. Briefly describe your topic of research:

3. What is the purpose of your visit:

- Academic
- Professional/Occupational
- Personal
- Avocational/Other

4. Please describe the end product. What are you going to do with the information?

Part II. Description and evaluation of records used in this archival repository

1. Which Congressional Papers records did you consult and how useful were they? (Circle one number for each type of record; "0" if not used or not available.)

USEFULNESS SCALE

	<i>Not Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
Personal Files:					
Appointment Books	0	1	2	3	4
Accepted Invitations	0	1	2	3	4
Biographical Files	0	1	2	3	4
Campaign Files	0	1	2	3	4
Caucus/Political Files	0	1	2	3	4
Daily Schedules	0	1	2	3	4
Desk Calendars	0	1	2	3	4
Diaries	0	1	2	3	4
Financial Disclosure Reports	0	1	2	3	4
Memos of Telephone Conversations	0	1	2	3	4
Party Leadership Files	0	1	2	3	4
Personal Correspondence	0	1	2	3	4
Scrapbooks	0	1	2	3	4
VIP Appointments/Judgeships	0	1	2	3	4

	<i>Not Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
Legislative Files:					
"Bill Files"	0	1	2	3	4
Briefing Books	0	1	2	3	4
Committee Files	0	1	2	3	4
Congressional Record Inserts	0	1	2	3	4
Legislative Assistant's Files (highlighting specific issue areas)	0	1	2	3	4
Staff Project Files	0	1	2	3	4
VIP Correspondence (with federal, state, local officials; members of Congress)	0	1	2	3	4
Voting and Attendance Records	0	1	2	3	4
Administrative Files:					
Administrative Assistant's Files (office administration)	0	1	2	3	4
Casework	0	1	2	3	4
Grants/Projects in district or state	0	1	2	3	4
Issue Mail and Indexes (opinion mail)	0	1	2	3	4
Master Library of form replies	0	1	2	3	4
Press Files:					
Newsletters	0	1	2	3	4
Newspaper Clippings	0	1	2	3	4
Opinion Editorials, Columns	0	1	2	3	4
Photographs	0	1	2	3	4
Press Releases	0	1	2	3	4
Specialized Mailings	0	1	2	3	4
Speeches	0	1	2	3	4
TV and Radio Files	0	1	2	3	4
Office Management:					
List of Current and Former Staff	0	1	2	3	4
Office Policy Memos	0	1	2	3	4
Travel	0	1	2	3	4

2. Please go back and circle the three most important TYPES OF RECORDS.

Part III. Overall Value of Information Sources

1. How useful is each of the following sources about Congress (in terms of your own research project)?
(Circle one number for each category; "0" if not used or not available.)

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON CONGRESS

USEFULNESS SCALE

	<i>Not Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
Archival	0	1	2	3	4
Books by Principals	0	1	2	3	4
Commercial information services and data bases (Legi-Slate, Congressional Quarterly's Washington Alert, LEXIS/NEXIS, Dialog, CompuServe, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4
Congressional Publications (hearings, reports)	0	1	2	3	4
<i>Congressional Record</i>	0	1	2	3	4
Interviews with Principals	0	1	2	3	4
Newspapers and Magazines	0	1	2	3	4
Published Scholarly Secondary	0	1	2	3	4
Video of Floor Proceedings/Hearings	0	1	2	3	4
OTHER _____	0	1	2	3	4

2. Please comment on the relative value of the ARCHIVAL SOURCES you used compared with other information sources.

3. How could the content of congressional collections and/or the finding aids be improved so that access to information is speeded?

Part IV. Researcher Information

1. Occupation:
2. Institutional Affiliation:
3. The following information is optional. It is sought only in the event we would like to reach you to discuss an aspect of the questionnaire further. All responses are considered confidential.

Name:

Address:

Phone:

Thank you for assisting us with this project. Your information will be of great value to us as we review the documentation of Congress and work to improve its quality.

Legislative Archives Researcher Questionnaire

Part I. Description of your project

1. What collection(s) have you been using?

2. Briefly describe your topic of research:

3. What is the purpose of your visit:

- Academic
- Professional/Occupational
- Personal
- Avocational/Other

4. Please describe the end product. What are you going to do with the information?

Part II. Description and evaluation of records used in this archival repository

1. Which records did you consult and how useful were they? (Circle one number for each type of record; "0" if not used or not available.)

USEFULNESS SCALE

	Not Used	Useless	Somewhat Useful	Useful	Vital
--	----------	---------	-----------------	--------	-------

Legislative Files:

Briefing Books	0	1	2	3	4
Chronological or reading files	0	1	2	3	4
Communications with congressional leadership and members	0	1	2	3	4
Communications with executive agency staff and interested parties	0	1	2	3	4
Hearing transcripts	0	1	2	3	4
Minutes of business meetings, "markups"	0	1	2	3	4
Press Releases	0	1	2	3	4
Record of roll call-votes	0	1	2	3	4
Special support or consultant studies	0	1	2	3	4
Staff analytical memoranda and working papers	0	1	2	3	4
Substantive preliminary drafts of legislation/reports	0	1	2	3	4
Video of hearings	0	1	2	3	4

Oversight/Investigative Files:

Briefing Books	0	1	2	3	4
Communications with congressional leadership and members	0	1	2	3	4
Communications with executive agency staff	0	1	2	3	4
Investigative case files, including subpoenaed documents, depositions, special support studies, and correspondence	0	1	2	3	4

	<i>Not Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
Press Releases	0	1	2	3	4
Record of roll-call votes	0	1	2	3	4
Staff analytical memoranda and working papers	0	1	2	3	4
Studies, reports, surveys, questionnaires, exhibits	0	1	2	3	4
Video of hearings	0	1	2	3	4
Nominations Files:					
Briefing Books	0	1	2	3	4
Communications with leadership, committee members	0	1	2	3	4
Executive reports	0	1	2	3	4
Hearing transcripts	0	1	2	3	4
Nominee biographical and financial data files, committee questionnaires	0	1	2	3	4
Record of roll-call votes	0	1	2	3	4
Staff analytical memoranda	0	1	2	3	4
Video of hearings	0	1	2	3	4
Treaty Files:					
Briefing Books	0	1	2	3	4
Communications with leadership, committee members	0	1	2	3	4
Executive reports	0	1	2	3	4
Hearing transcripts	0	1	2	3	4
Record of roll-call votes	0	1	2	3	4
Staff analytical memoranda	0	1	2	3	4
Official Communications:					
Executive communications	0	1	2	3	4
Petitions and Memorials	0	1	2	3	4
Presidential messages	0	1	2	3	4
Reports from agencies required by statute	0	1	2	3	4

2. Please go back and circle the three most important TYPES OF RECORDS.

Part III. Overall Value of Information Sources

1. How useful is each of the following sources of information about Congress (in terms of your own research project)? (Circle one number for each category; "0" if not used or not available.)

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON CONGRESS

USEFULNESS SCALE

	<i>Not Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
Archival	0	1	2	3	4
Books by Principals	0	1	2	3	4
Commercial information services and data bases (Legi-Slate, Congressional Quarterly's Washington Alert, LEXIS/NEXIS, Dialog, CompuServe, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4
Congressional Publications (hearings, reports)	0	1	2	3	4

	<i>Not Used</i>	<i>Useless</i>	<i>Somewhat Useful</i>	<i>Useful</i>	<i>Vital</i>
<i>Congressional Record</i>	0	1	2	3	4
Interviews with Principals	0	1	2	3	4
Newspapers and magazines	0	1	2	3	4
Published Scholarly Secondary	0	1	2	3	4
Video of Floor Proceedings/Hearings	0	1	2	3	4
OTHER _____	0	1	2	3	4

2. Please comment on the relative value of the ARCHIVAL SOURCES you used compared with other information sources.

3. How could the content of congressional collections and/or the finding aids be improved so that access to information is speeded?

Part IV. Researcher Information

1. Occupation:

2. Institutional Affiliation:

3. The following is optional. It is sought only in the event we would like to reach you to discuss an aspect of the questionnaire further. All responses are considered confidential.

Name:

Address:

Phone:

Thank you for assisting us with this project. Your information will be of great value to us as we review the documentation of Congress and work to improve its quality.



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9. U.S. Senate. Committee on Governmental Affairs, Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations. *Congress and Pressure Groups: Lobbying in a Modern Democracy* S. Prt. 99-161 (Government Printing Office 1986), pp. 15-24.
10. Congressional Quarterly, Inc. "The Washington Lobby: A Continuing Effort to Influence Government Policy," *Current American Government* (Washington, DC 1982), p.79.

Chapter VII

The Research Use of Congressional Collections

1. The survey does not capture brief and highly specific use, such as phone requests for photos or copies of a specific document, for example. Volume statistics normally are kept on such use, but this was not our purpose. Neither does the survey look at educational use of congressional collections such as using them to develop teaching packets, in travelling exhibits, in the development of course curricula, or for creating documentaries. These are all typical and valuable uses that perhaps warrant study in a future survey.

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